

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

How Nixon plotted to jail Ellsberg

White House & Watergate

—pages 4, 5



May 5 actions protest high prices



March in Boston, May 5. For reports on demonstrations around the country, see page 3.

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YAF CAMPAIGNS FOR SCAB LETTUCE: On May 5, 150 people demonstrated to support the United Farm Workers boycott of Safeway and nonunion lettuce and in opposition to the sale of "liberty lettuce" by the Young Americans for Freedom. The protest was held at a Seattle Safeway store. YAF ran a large ad in the University of Washington daily offering a 15-cent reduction for each head of nonunion lettuce purchased at Safeway.

Gary Johnson, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Seattle city council, participated in the demonstration, expressing SWP support for the United Farm Workers struggle.

Maceo Dixon arrested on trumped-up charge

DETROIT, May 9—Maceo Dixon, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor and a leader of the fight to abolish STRESS, was arrested by Detroit police today. He was charged with "deviating from a parade route," a misdemeanor.

The charge apparently stems from Dixon's role as one of the organizers of the protest march against STRESS



Maceo Dixon

Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

held Saturday, April 28. Police claim the marchers failed to follow the "authorized" march route.

STRESS, a special plainclothes police "anticrime" squad, has been waging a campaign of terror against Detroit's Black community.

On the day of the demonstration, Detroit cops harassed several protest organizers in a clear attempt to intimidate them.

Dixon was freed on \$100 bond after spending four hours in jail. He will appear in court tomorrow morning.

In a statement to the press, Dixon denounced this latest police harassment as "an attempt to silence the growing outcry against Detroit police brutality. If our demonstration was illegal, why did the cops choose to wait 12 days before filing these charges?"

Dixon reiterated his determination to focus his mayoralty campaign on the issue of police terror directed at the Black community, and to continue his efforts in support of the Coalition to Abolish STRESS.

COUNTER CELEBRATION OF ISRAEL'S ANNIVERSARY:

On May 7, at the same time that Senator Edward Kennedy was speaking in Boston on the virtues of Israel, more than 300 people were attending a teach-in on the Middle East at Boston University. The teach-in was sponsored by the May 15 Coalition, a group of Arab students, non-Zionist Jews, and supporters of the Palestinian liberation struggle, to counter the big hullabaloo surrounding the twenty-fifth anniversary of the formation of Israel.

Speakers at the event included Egbal Ahmad, a Pakistani and one of the defendants in the Harrisburg conspiracy case; Immanuel Sarjoun of the Israeli Socialist Organization; Robert Langston of the Socialist Workers Party; and Muhammed Hussein, a Palestinian student at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and a member of the May 15 Coalition.

HOW TO FIGHT INFLATION: The three New York branches of the Socialist Workers Party have decided to launch a special campaign to sell the timely new pamphlet entitled *Inflation—What Causes It—How to Fight It* by Linda Jenness and Dick Roberts (Pathfinder Press, 25 cents). The branches have ordered special bundles of the new pamphlet to sell at supermarkets, high schools, college campuses, and on street corners.

POSTAL WORKERS PROTEST SPEEDUP: One hundred postal workers rallied in San Francisco's Union Square on April 21 to protest working conditions in the postal service. L. K. May, an official of the National Association of Letter Carriers, demanded an end to the speedup in the postal system, saying, "We are people not beasts. You can do only so much work in a day." The workers circulated a list of 10 demands aimed at better services for the public. Among the demands were more frequent collections and deliveries and reasonable postal rates.

IRANIAN STUDENTS PROTEST MASSACRE: More than 200 people, mostly Iranian students, held a demonstration in San Francisco April 26, to protest the massacre of 28 student demonstrators and the closing of the universities in Iran. The massacre occurred in the wake of massive student protests in Iran against the shah's recent \$2-billion arms purchase from the Pentagon and his complicity with U.S. oil interests in the Persian Gulf.

The demonstration, called by the Northern California Iranian Students Association in an attempt to break the news blackout on these events, is one of a series of national and international protests against the student massacre. Shouting slogans such as "Shah is a U.S. puppet" and singing Iranian student songs, the demonstrators marched to the Iranian consulate. The consulate refused to acknowledge that any massacre had occurred.

RALLY FOR LOS TRES DEL BARRIO: A rally, sponsored by the Committee to Free Los Tres del Barrio, the three Chicano activists victimized for their campaign against drugs in the Chicano community, will be held in Los Angeles May 19. Featured speakers at the rally include Corky Gonzales of the Denver Crusade for Justice and the well-known Puerto Rican nationalist, Carlos Feliciano. The rally will begin at noon at Hollenbeck Park. For more information, contact the Committee to Free Los Tres, 4400 Huntington Dr. S., Los Angeles, Calif. Telephone: (213) 223-3471.

CHICANOS CELEBRATE CINCO DE MAYO: More than 500 people attended a Cinco de Mayo (May 5) celebration at the University of California at San Diego, commemorating the battle that overthrew French rule in Mexico. The celebration was sponsored by city-wide MECHA, the Chicano student organization.

In addition to mariachis and a performance by the Teatro Mestizo, several Chicano leaders spoke at the event. These included Alurista, a well-known Chicano poet; Raul Ruiz, a leader of the Los Angeles Raza Unida Party; and Antonio Rodriguez, one of Los Tres del Barrio.

Corky Gonzales, leader of the Crusade for Justice in Denver, spoke about the defense of the Chicanos arrested recently as a result of a police raid on the Crusade dormitory, and expressed solidarity with the struggle at Wounded Knee. United Farm Workers leader Cesar Chavez discussed the struggle of the farm workers in the current grape and lettuce boycotts.

1,200 ATTEND LESBIAN CONFERENCE: A West Coast Lesbian Conference held at the University of California at Los Angeles April 13-15 drew more than 1,200 women from 36 states and at least three foreign countries. Open to all women, the event was organized by a Los Angeles-based group called Lesbian Activist Women.

The conference included keynote speeches by Robin Morgan and Kate Millett, and workshops on lesbian identity, fine arts, publication, lesbian activism, socialism, and feminism. The program also included entertainment by lesbian poets, singers and filmmakers, as well as a gay women's art show.

Indicating a high degree of interest in socialist ideas, conference participants purchased \$1,100 of socialist and radical literature at a table sponsored by the Los Angeles Militant Bookstore and Granma Bookstore in Berkeley. One hundred copies of *The Militant* were sold.

—MIRTA VIDAL

YOUR FIRST ISSUE? SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT



While the FBI, CIA, and CREEP were conspiring against Ellsberg and Russo . . . *The Militant* was exposing the Pentagon papers trial as a political frame-up. The Watergate revelations have now shown who the real criminals are. For the truth, read *The Militant*.

INTRODUCTORY OFFER

- () \$1 for three months of *The Militant*.
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Trade unions, consumers join forces

May 5: step forward in anti-inflation fight

By CINDY JAQUITH

MAY 8—"If perhaps you are wondering why you were called here today, then I can assume you are independently wealthy, do not work for a living or are not seeking employment, pay no taxes to speak of, and eat filet mignon," said Paula Reimers, chairwoman of the Michigan Committee Against High Prices. Addressing the May 5 rally in Detroit against inflation, she continued, "But if your name isn't Ford or Rockefeller or

Organization for Women (NOW); Tim Craine, Detroit Coalition to End the War; Maceo Dixon, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Detroit mayor; and Peggy Goldman, Communist Party.

In New York, close to 400 demonstrators came to a rally chaired by Florence Rice of the Harlem Consumers Educational Council. Speakers included Al Evanoff, vice-president of District 65 of the Distributive Workers of America; Sharon Enea, West-

office space to build the rally. The Washington (D.C.) Teachers Union also made its office available, as did Local 1930 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) in New York.

Locals of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters union supported the actions in several cities. In Washington, D.C., Local 593 actively built the May 5 committee, and the local's president, Bill Sellars, was a coordinator of the demonstration.

Many trade-union speakers on May 5 refuted Nixon's claim that wage increases cause inflation. "The wage-price freeze is a mockery on all of us except the wealthy," Mike Kerwin of UAW CAP told the Detroit rally. "We know prices aren't frozen. People on fixed wages, pensions . . . are frozen all right—frozen in hell."

"Even if prices were to stop where they are," said Al Evanoff at the New York demonstration, "our members still couldn't eat as they should." Evanoff pledged, "We will support any action you call to continue the struggle."

At the Seattle action, which took the form of a speakout, one longshoreman got up to compare the rise in wages since World War II to the rise in prices. "The prices of meat and other basic foodstuffs have increased 100 percent," he said, "while wages have only increased 50 percent."

Just a week before the May 5 actions, on April 28, the United Labor Action Committee (ULAC), a coalition of Bay Area unions, held a rally of several thousand in San Francisco to protest prices and wage controls. Seventy trade unionists attended a ULAC meeting May 5, where they voted unanimously to continue the work of the organization.

The National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC), the Student Mobilization Committee (SMC), and many other antiwar organizations also helped build the May 5 protests. NPAC and SMC speakers at rallies pointed to war spending as a major cause of inflation.

The war in Southeast Asia was a recurrent theme. "Drop prices, not bombs!" was a popular chant among the 200 marchers in Boston, for example. One of the banners read, "If the war is over, why are we paying for it?"

Speakers at the May 5 rallies drew on the lessons of the antiwar movement. "In May of 1970 Nixon marched into Cambodia and we marched him out," Paula Reimers said at the Detroit rally, pointing to the power of mass actions like the 1970 student strike.

"Didn't someone have to start a rally like this to force President Johnson [out]?" asked Doyle Worley, referring to Johnson's early retirement under the pressure of the mass antiwar movement.

The importance of massive, visible actions to protest inflation was also emphasized by Cleveland AFL-CIO head Frank Valenta, who said, "People are sick of sending letters to politicians." In a speech covered widely by the news media, Valenta said that street demonstrations and protest rallies are the most effective ways to win demands. He commented that the labor movement will have to relearn the lessons of its own past struggles.

Another theme was the importance of linking the fight against high prices to the struggle against Nixon's slashing of funds for social services. Many groups involved in the anti-cutback struggle, such as the National Welfare Rights Organization, child-care coalitions, and groups in the Black

community, joined forces to help build the May 5 demonstrations.

Organizers viewed the May 5 protests as the initial step in building an ongoing movement against high prices. The modest size of Saturday's actions was attributed to the fact that this is a brand new movement and to the short time period available to build the actions.

Many speakers urged rally participants to go out and organize others in this fight. "Each one of you here today must be a sergeant in the battle ahead," Sharon Enea of Westchester Against Inflation Now told the New York rally. "This is just the beginning; we're going to fight on from here," said Andrea Childress, of Seattle Fight Inflation Together (FIT).

Demonstrators found that passersby were sympathetic and in some cases joined the protests. A picket line in



New York demonstration against high prices, May 5

Militant/Julie Simon

Onassis or Nixon, then you are not wondering why you are here—you know why."

The Detroit rally, which drew 500 people, a quarter of them Black, was one of more than a dozen actions against high prices held around the country May 5. The protests were called by the National Consumers Congress at an April 11 meeting in Washington, D.C.

Despite the short time in which they were built, the demonstrations received broad sponsorship from trade unions, consumer groups, women's organizations, forces fighting cutbacks in social services, and political groups. This support reflected the depth of anger in this country against the government's failure to halt inflation, while big corporations continue to profit.

In Detroit, speakers included Mike Kerwin, of the United Auto Workers Community Action Program (UAW CAP); Doyle Worley, speaking for the Metropolitan AFL-CIO; Dr. Claude Young, Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC); Joan Israel, president of the Michigan National

chester Against Inflation Now; and Democratic National Committeeman Robert Dreyfoos.

Prominent speakers in other cities were Congresswoman Pat Schroeder (D-Colo.), who spoke in Denver; Leon Schachter, international vice-president of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, who spoke in Philadelphia; and Frank Valenta, head of the Cleveland AFL-CIO.

In San Francisco, Mayor Joseph Alioto declared May 5 "San Francisco Consumer Awareness Day," and the city board of supervisors endorsed the local demonstration. Two hundred people participated in the action.

Seattle Mayor Wes Uhlman sent greetings to the May 5 rally in his city.

Role of trade unions

Local trade unions took the lead in several cities, picking up the call for May 5 protests and reaching out to involve other forces in the actions. In Detroit, the Metropolitan AFL-CIO printed 40,000 leaflets for the May 5 action, and Local 2000 of the American Federation of Teachers provided



Militant/Gene Yzquierdo

Local trade unions played important role in helping initiate May 5 actions against inflation.

Houston at a large supermarket attracted about 30 people, most of them Blacks, who picked up signs and began marching. The Houston demonstration was the lead story on the 6 o'clock news on one TV station that evening.

Earlier in the week, the "Today Show" covered a protest by Minneapolis women, who wheeled empty shopping carts down Nicollet Mall to publicize May 5.

Another example of the wide news coverage for the price protests was newspaper coverage given a May 4 debate in Portland on "Who's Responsible for High Food Prices?" The head of the Oregon Beef Council and the Oregon Cattlemen's Association, Don Ostensoe, debated Sue Welsh of the Portland State University student government and the Young Socialist Alliance.

Other cities where demonstrations took place were Chicago, Los Angeles, San Diego, and Austin.



Militant/Gene Yzquierdo

Detroit demonstrators, May 5

Consumers' faith in economy 'shattered,' says survey

People's confidence in the U.S. economy has been "shattered" in recent months, according to a survey conducted by the University of Michigan. The poll shows that 44 percent of the American people expect that the rate of inflation will increase in the next year. In addition, half of those questioned anticipate a recession in the next five years.

This "lack of confidence" is well justified. The industrial sector of the Wholesale Price Index for April rose by 1.3 percent, the highest rate in 22 years. Before long, this jump will be translated into another increase in consumer prices.

Unemployment remains at 5 percent, 4.4 million jobless. The severe impact of unemployment is

clearer, however, by looking at the jobless rate for teenagers, 15.4 percent; young veterans, 9.1 percent; and Blacks, 9.1 percent.

Not everybody has to worry about getting a job and paying bills, however. Richard Gerstenberg of General Motors and Henry Ford II, for example, "earn" \$875,000 a year as heads of their corporations. Business is so good, in fact, they might even get a raise this year: contrary to their whining about "labor costs," in 1972 the top 500 corporations had their biggest jump in profits since 1959. Sales were up 10.8 percent, and total profits of \$27.8-billion were up 18.9 percent. And in the first three months of 1973, overall corporate profits were up by 24 percent!

AT STAKE IS CONFIDENCE IN GOVERNMENT DEMOCRATS TREAD LIGHTLY ON WATERGATE

By PETER SEIDMAN

Last week, in the wake of increasing evidence directly incriminating the president, former Defense Secretary Melvin Laird told reporters that if Nixon was in fact guilty of any Watergate crimes, "I don't want to know." That kind of disclosure would be very bad for the country, he said.

Laird is not the only one who fears that the chain reaction of exposures now exploding through Washington will shatter Nixon's authority.

The *Christian Science Monitor* explained, on May 4, that the latest demands for an independent investigation into Watergate are being raised so that "exploration of the scandal will pass out of Phase 1, the almost daily disclosure of new aspects based on anonymous 'informed sources'—into Phase 2, the testimony of sworn witnesses before official bodies."

Such an investigation might result in the punishment of a minority of the many government officials guilty of Watergate crimes, but it could also turn the finger of public suspicion away from Nixon and relieve the atmosphere of panic among government bureaucrats now implicated in the scandal. It is this panic that is causing many officials to try to shift blame onto others by talking so freely to grand juries and reporters right now.

As Republican Senator Charles Percy explained, "Let us get on with the important task of governing, but let us remember that we cannot govern unless we have the support of the people. The best way of ensuring the faith and the trust of the people is to appoint a special prosecutor whose motives, actions, and conclusions cannot possibly be questioned."

Because the Democrats are as committed as their Republican opponents



"I'm sorry—I don't recognize any of them . . . !"

to maintaining the illusions of masses of people that capitalist rule "cannot possibly be questioned," they are being very cautious in how they exploit the Watergate scandal for their own partisan benefit.

Frank Jackman, writing in the May 5 *New York Daily News*, for example, noted, "oddly enough, the Dems are

being relatively quiet about the whole thing. Only the barest hint of gloating appears in their circumspect public statements. . . .

"The reason given to the public for this surprising Democratic forbearance involves some sort of red, white and blue blather about not wanting to weaken the presidency at this critical hour. . . .

"No . . . the basic reason why the Dems are laying off has nothing to do with patriotism. It's more a question of self-preservation. . . ."

Or, as House Democratic majority leader Thomas O'Neill put it, in trying to squelch any talk of impeachment proceedings among his colleagues, "The Republicans are doing a good job messing up themselves. . . . Let's stay out of it for awhile."

George McGovern, presidential standard bearer for the Democrats in 1972, actually took the opportunity afforded by the Watergate scandal to praise Nixon (who, after all, according to the Watergate revelations, had devoted considerable resources of his own to helping McGovern secure the Democratic nomination!), "It is not an easy thing for a president to admit a mistake, but it is perhaps essential to the nation that he can. . . ."

But McGovern was quick to defend the Democrats against Nixon's April 30 charge that during the 1972 campaign, "excesses were committed on all sides."

Speaking for the party of Vietnam bomber Lyndon Johnson and racists George Wallace and Lester Maddox, McGovern said, "I emphatically reject the notion that I or my colleagues or my party in the presidential election condoned or would have countenanced activities of a criminal nature."

A few days later, conservative Republican Senator Barry Goldwater disagreed, predicting in the May 4 *Christian Science Monitor* that the Democrats are going to be deeply involved in a scandal of their own pretty soon.

"The Democrats," Goldwater told reporters, "are going to be in this in a vivid, vivid way before this is over."

Goldwater spoke of Democratic tactics similar to Watergate in describing the wrongdoing he was talking about. "What will end up," he said, "will be a curse on both your parties from the public's point of view."

And that, of course, is exactly why both the Democratic and Republican politicians are so distressed about Watergate.

Watergate does not disturb these capitalist politicians because the U. S. government committed crimes ranging from breaking and entering to attempting to bribe a federal judge. They know that these are standard operating methods in Washington. What upsets them is that the U. S. public found out about them!

The Watergate exposures have undermined public confidence in capitalist rule as a whole. Arthur Burns, chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, explained this to a graduating class at George Washington University. The American people, he said, "have come to feel that their lives, their fortunes, and their opportunities are increasingly beyond their control, and that they are in large part being shaped for them by their government."

At the same time, Burns added, "more and more Americans have also come to feel that their government lacks either the knowledge or the com-

MOSCOW: LITTLE W'GATE NEWS

Writing from Moscow on May 3, *New York Times* correspondent Hedrick Smith explained, "This is the one big world capital where a Nixon Administration official can escape the Watergate nightmare."

The Kremlin bureaucrats have a stake in the detente they have recently negotiated with the Nixon administration at the expense of the struggles of the Vietnamese people against U. S. imperialism. Wishing neither to be tainted itself by the scandal nor to embarrass its new "ally," the conservative bureaucratic caste that rules the Kremlin has limited news coverage of the U. S. to reports that, according to Smith, are "striking for the lack of biting commentaries."

Indeed, the first news of Watergate did not appear in *Pravda*, the newspaper of the Communist Party of the USSR, until April 29. *Pravda* quoted Patrick Gray as saying he had to resign because of "accusations," and reported that the *Washington Post* said there was a "scandal." There was no hint in *Pravda's* story that Nixon or the Republican Party was involved.

petence to make good on the promises that it holds out to the people."

The latest Gallup Poll, taken after Nixon's April 30 address, underscores both the accuracy of Burns's analysis and the extent of the problem this poses for the capitalist rulers.

Of those who saw or heard about Nixon's speech, 50 percent believe that the President participated in a cover up of the scandal. By a margin of 4 to 3, those polled said they still thought the president was not telling

Continued on page 22

NIXON'S 'HONORABLE' MEN...

It is said that in times of crisis, a person's true character is tested and revealed. How have some of Nixon's most prominent supporters stood up in the midst of the greatest governmental scandal in U. S. history?

Ronald Reagan, California's racist "law and order" governor, currently seeking the restoration of the death penalty in his state so that a stop can be put to the coddling of criminals, was quick to let his views be known. The Watergate spies were "not criminals at heart" but "well-meaning individuals," Reagan said. "Illegal," would be a better word for the Watergate raid than "criminal," preached the governor.

H. R. Haldeman, the president's closest assistant, now unemployed, has sought to win public sympathy by explaining that "every President needs his s.o.b. and I'm Nixon's."

Former attorney general John

Mitchell, once the nation's "chief law enforcement officer" (now retired), is demonstrating the Nixon administration's new respect for a "vigorous and free press." When a woman reporter put her head inside his car, Mitchell told his driver, "Don't cut off this poor girl's head, just smash the door on her finger."

And former Democrat John Connally, in a move toward securing the Republican presidential nomination in 1976, announced on May 2 that he was joining the GOP. (Or, as one spiteful Democrat put it, "jumping on to the sinking ship.") Connally justified his ill-timed conversion by explaining that the Republican Party "now best represents my own personal convictions."

With such a collection of Nixon stalwarts, it is no wonder that the spiritual adviser to the Watergate gang, Billy Graham, prayed: "Let's face it—we need supernatural help!"

Feiffer

I PLEDGE
A MILLION-

TO THE INDICTED STATES
OF AMERICA-

AND TO THE CORRUPTION
FOR WHICH
IT STANDS-

ONE NIXON
UNDER GUARD-

INVINCIBLE-

WITH LIBERTY INOPERATIVE-

FOR ALL.

'Enraged' by release of Pentagon papers Nixon's plot to jail Ellsberg exposed

By HAYDEN PERRY

LOS ANGELES, May 7—The continuing torrent of revelations flowing from the Watergate scandal has broken the government's case against Daniel Ellsberg and Anthony Russo wide open. The facts that have now been made public prove that Ellsberg is the victim of a politically motivated prosecution, which has been riddled with lies, illegal withholding of evidence, and even an attempt to bribe the judge.

The facts that have come to light show that President Nixon, enraged by Ellsberg's release of the Pentagon papers, personally set into motion a plot to punish Ellsberg for his role in helping the U.S. people learn part of the truth about the war. This vendetta was supervised by top White House aide John Ehrlichman, who helped bring the CIA into action against Ellsberg.

As more and more officials in the Nixon administration begin to tell federal investigators about their roles in the campaign of espionage and sabotage organized by the White House against its political opponents, it has become clear that what has been called "the Watergate scandal" in reality extends far beyond the 1972 presidential election campaign.

Crimes like those exposed in the Watergate scandal are standard operating procedure for the U.S. government. The dramatic revelations in the Pentagon papers trial are powerful proof of this.

Rather than allow more of these crimes to be exposed, Pentagon papers trial judge Matthew Byrne—who is himself now implicated in the White House plot against Ellsberg and

New York Times reporter who first leaked the story. In addition, the telephones of at least two New York Times reporters were tapped, as were those of at least 10 White House staff members.

Hunt says that he warned against prosecuting Ellsberg, since he believed that this might turn Ellsberg into a political martyr. However, he said, others in the administration wanted to damage Ellsberg's public image in order to undermine the prestige he had won as a result of releasing the truth about the war. It was suggested that an examination of Ellsberg's psychiatric records might turn up some damaging material that could be used against him.

A direct approach was made by the FBI to Dr. Lewis Fielding, Ellsberg's psychiatrist, but Fielding refused to violate the confidence of his patient.

The White House then decided that more covert efforts should be made to obtain Ellsberg's records.

Egil Krogh, a White House aide, and David Young, an official of the National Security Agency who is a close associate of Henry Kissinger, organized a "plumbers" team headed by Hunt and G. Gordon Liddy to find the source of news leaks plaguing the administration. These included not only the Pentagon papers but also published accounts of Washington's position during the Indo-Pakistani war and on the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty talks. The idea that the U.S. people were finding out about government policies infuriated the White House.

Krogh has now told reporters that at his initiative Hunt and Liddy organized the burglary of Fielding's Bev-



White House requested FBI to assemble reports on Ellsberg (left) and Patricia Marx (right) following publication of Pentagon papers.

(Robert Cushman has since become the commandant of the Marine Corps and is a member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.)

"There was absolutely nothing in writing," the source said. "There was only one call, just a little lean-on call by Ehrlichman."

But this one call was enough. Hunt and Liddy proceeded to organize an elaborate plan to burgle Fielding's offices—including flying in Bernard Barker and two counterrevolutionary Cuban exiles from Miami, obtaining elaborate photographic equipment, and making use of secret CIA telephone numbers and "safehouses."

These actions by the CIA are not only criminal in their own right but are strictly forbidden by the 1947 National Security Act, which expressly bars the CIA from having any "police, subpoena, law-enforcement powers or internal security functions."

However, despite these legal restrictions on domestic activities, the CIA's involvement with the White House attempt to "get Ellsberg" didn't end with the Fielding "bag job." After failing to obtain any damaging material on Ellsberg from his psychiatrist's office, the White House gang again went to the CIA for help, this time to a special "psychological assessment unit."

According to Hunt, this unit is maintained to "provide in effect second-hand profiles of persons of interest to the United States government." Hunt says the unit has "been on-going for years."

Here the plotters obtained a psychological profile of Ellsberg, which was made by CIA agent Dr. Bernard Melloy.

The charge of CIA participation in the attempt to "get Ellsberg" is confirmed by the fact that many of the operatives arrested in the Watergate break-in itself had links to the CIA (Hunt was hired on the recommendation of former CIA director Richard Helms) and believed they were in fact working on a CIA mission. This raises a question posed by the May 7 *Christian Science Monitor*, "Who authorized any CIA involvement? Most especially: In how many—if any—acts of political espionage was the agency involved during last year's presidential campaign?"

On May 2, Pentagon papers trial judge Matthew Byrne first released details of his discussions with White House aide John Ehrlichman. Byrne currently admits to having held two meetings with Ehrlichman, on April 5 and April 7. In view of the fact that Ehrlichman has now been directly implicated in the plan to involve the CIA in smearing Ellsberg, these discussions take on a particularly sinister character.

Byrne says that Ehrlichman offered

him the post of FBI director, but that he refused to discuss such an assignment while presiding in the Ellsberg-Russo trial. However, he didn't explain why a second meeting was necessary with Ehrlichman to make this point, or what he and Ehrlichman did discuss in these two encounters.

The defense is now planning to seek dismissal of the charges against Ellsberg and Russo on the grounds that the White House and Judge Byrne have both been severely compromised by this bribery. Defense attorney Leonard Weinglass has noted that had the defense offered the judge a job during the trial "the entire defense team would be in jail."

The Ellsberg-Russo defense is also seeking dismissal of the case on the grounds that the charges against the defendants represent selective political prosecution directed from the White House; also that the trial "proceeding has been characterized by prosecutorial abuse extending all the way to the White House itself, which is unparalleled in the history of American jurisprudence."

Despite a clear record of "prosecutorial abuse"—a record that began long before the White House asked the CIA to help smear the defendants and before it tried to bribe the judge—Judge Byrne has refused to halt the trial. Instead, he has asked the government to submit all documents that might tend to prove these charges to his court! The defense quite accurately points out that, given the government's record, this is like asking a guilty person to investigate himself.

If Judge Byrne rules against the motion for dismissal, the defense has stated it will seek to subpoena everyone in the White House involved in the scandal.

It is highly unlikely that Nixon wants to see any of his aides testifying publicly under oath as the Ellsberg trial proceeds. The president must know that his White House staffers don't look very good when they are forced to scurry out into broad daylight.



Nixon tried to bribe Pentagon papers trial judge Matthew Byrne.



White House staff members Howard Hunt (left) and Gordon Liddy (right) organized burglary of office of Ellsberg's psychiatrist.



Russo—may dismiss charges against the defendants. This would be a major victory for all opponents of the Vietnam war and defenders of the civil liberties of the U.S. people.

Nixon infuriated

The publication of the Pentagon papers in June 1971 infuriated the Nixon administration. Howard Hunt, the convicted Watergate conspirator who was also the organizer of the burglary of the office of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist, has now told a grand jury that the White House then developed "an intense amount of interest in Mr. Ellsberg."

The FBI assembled a series of reports on Ellsberg; on Patricia Marx, his wife; and on Neil Sheehan, the

erly Hills office.

Hunt explained, however (according to "a source" quoted in the May 7 *New York Times*), that when he began to organize the mission, he found that he could not get the help he wanted and needed from the CIA without "further authority."

Help from CIA

The source said, "Hunt went to Mr. Krogh, who took the problem to his superior, Ehrlichman."

"Ehrlichman makes a telephone call to [at that time deputy director of the CIA Robert] Cushman, and says, 'Hey, these guys need some chores done. Won't you take care of it?' Cushman says, 'O. K., I'll do it.'"

Era of labor peace?

The Nixon administration, along with corporation executives and their lieutenants among the union officialdom, have been proclaiming a "new era of labor peace." They have pointed to the recent settlement negotiated between the United Rubber Workers union and Goodyear as a model of the way this year's contract negotiations should go. That is, they want low wage increases (only 16 percent over three years at Goodyear), no escalator clauses to offset inflation, and no strikes.

But more than 10,000 B.F. Goodrich workers went out on strike May 8. They refused to accept a contract along the lines of the Goodyear settlement, which the rubber companies are trying to use as a pattern for the whole industry.

At the big Goodyear plant in Akron, Ohio, the workers voted down the contract with Goodyear, although a majority of locals around the country voted for ratification.

The rulers of this country don't like these signs of workers fighting for their rights. The *New York Times*, mouthpiece for an influential section of the capitalist class, ran an editorial calling the Goodrich strike "the first somber warning" that "moderation" and "restraint" on the wage front may be "cracking." When the capitalists tell workers to be "moderate" and "restrain themselves," they're saying working people should sit back while skyrocketing prices erode their paychecks. Meanwhile, corporate profits continue to soar.

The *New York Times* editorial repeats the government's favorite lie that wage increases "feed inflation." This false charge is used to try to confuse workers who are looking for solutions to the problem of rising prices. But it is refuted month after month, as prices continue to climb even though wages are held down by government controls. In March, for instance, Bureau of Labor Statistics figures show that consumer prices shot up at an annual rate of 9.6 percent, while average real wages for a worker with three dependents fell by 0.3 percent!

In these times of rapidly rising prices, workers need automatic wage increases to keep pace with inflation. Such cost-of-living increases are also desperately needed by those who subsist on Social Security payments, pensions, unemployment benefits, welfare checks, or other forms of substandard fixed income.

The actions of the Goodrich workers and the Goodyear workers in Akron come on the heels of the April 28 demonstration by Northern California unions against wage controls, rising prices, unemployment, and unfair taxes, and the May 5 actions protesting high prices. These are the beginnings of a fight for the needs of working people. The way for wage earners to defend their standard of living is through mobilization of their own power in struggle, not through reliance on the good will or promises of the employers or the government.

Police entrapment

By 5-4 the U.S. Supreme Court has ruled that evidence of police entrapment into committing a crime is no defense for an accused person who is somehow found to have a "predisposition" to commit the crime. This ruling, which reverses a line of previous rulings on this question, means government agents can instigate and help carry out a crime in order to prosecute someone for committing it. This decision is a serious setback for civil liberties.

The ruling legalizes and encourages undercover police activity aimed at victimizing those fighting for social change.

The insidious role of police agents in framing up radicals has repeatedly come to light in past years—from the Statue of Liberty case, to the Berrigan case, to the case of the Camden 28. In the latter instance, an antiwar protest at a draft board, an FBI agent provocateur admitted in court that "this raid on the draft board would not have happened without me and the FBI."

Now police agents are at work within the so-called National Caucus of Labor Committees, egging this small group on and joining in its campaign to beat up supporters of the Socialist Workers Party, Communist Party, and other groups.

This court decision comes at a time when the Watergate revelations are showing that the federal police agencies—the CIA and FBI—and the "Justice" Department are totally enmeshed in the instigation, execution, and cover-up of criminal acts. Not unpredictably, all four Nixon appointees voted for this Supreme Court ruling.

'Labor Committee'

As an independent Marxist-De Leonist (formerly a member of the Socialist Labor Party), I wish to strongly condemn and resolutely denounce the brutal, savage attacks by the so-called National Caucus of Labor Committees.

Failing in the field of ideological debate, these cowardly thugs are doing the despicable dirty work usually reserved for the capitalist police. The "Labor Committee" has earned the contempt of the working class and all socialist revolutionaries.

A reader
Pasadena, Calif.

Chicano coverage

I am one of the students who was involved in the recent walkout in Oakland, Calif. [see *The Militant*, April 13]. I would like to acknowledge my thanks, both personally and officially, to *The Militant*. This includes such articles as "Denver cops attack Chicanos," and "Chicano killed in Rapid City," and many other related articles. Keep up the good work.

Darrell Martinez
Los Chicanos de Oakland
Oakland, Calif.

One of the best

I am an old-age pensioner and can't afford to renew my subscription. The damn Nixon rich have jacked up the grocery bill and other stuff. But socialism is at least on the way for the young (I am 82). *The Militant* is one of the best papers I ever read.

C. G.
Fremont, Ohio

Telephone tax

Many months ago I joined others in refusing to pay the "telephone war tax" in protest of U.S. involvement in Southeast Asia. Recently in this area, our local Mother Bell has been contacting people to inform them that since the "war is over," we can no longer refuse to pay this tax on the war issue. If we choose to continue to refuse to pay this tax, we must now find "another reason."

But the war in Southeast Asia is obviously not over, and so long as any Americans participate in the bombing and wanton devastation of that area I will continue to refuse to pay such a tax.

M. M.
State College, Pa.

Mideast teach-in

The "In Brief" section in the May 4 *Militant* mentioned the successful teach-in on the Middle East at Brooklyn College. In addition to being held on a predominantly pro-Israel campus, the event was noteworthy due to the failure of the professional slanderers to back up their lies with facts.

For the past few months the Youth Committee for Peace and Democracy in the Mideast (YCPD) has been handing out a leaflet entitled "The Young Socialist Alliance, Israel and

Anti-Semitism." The leaflet states that not all anti-Zionist groups are anti-Semitic, but the YSA is. To get at the truth the Brooklyn College student government invited the group's chairman, Carl Gershman, to speak at the teach-in. He agreed. On the eve of the teach-in, however, he called to state that he "didn't want to appear on the same side with the right-wing nuts" (the United Zionist Revisionists USA).

The first speaker at the teach-in, Peter Buch of the Socialist Workers Party, exposed this hypocrisy by pointing out that the "right-wing nuts" were the ones passing out most of the leaflets of the YCPD! He showed that behind the scenes the social democrats of the Young People's Socialist League (some of whose leaders play a key role in YCPD) ally with right-wingers, but in a public debate they always shy away from them.

These "moderates" are ashamed at the bluntness of the rightists, who are the true voice of racist, expansionist Zionism. This was reflected in the blushing red faces of the "moderates" every time the "rightists" spoke.

Dennis Brasky
Brooklyn, N. Y.

New reader pleased

I enjoyed reading *The Militant*, and I would like to renew my subscription. However, after May I am returning to the Virgin Islands, where I was born (I am now a transfer student in the U.S. at the University of Connecticut). So I would like you to start sending the paper to my new address.

The Militant has educated me about socialism and the underdeveloped countries.

E. D.
Storrs, Conn.

Women & the draft

I would like to add a bit of information to the discussion in Linda Jenness's column of April 20 ("Women in Revolt") on the status of women in the draft if the Equal Rights Amendment is passed. It so happens that in 1945 the U.S. Congress passed a bill (HR 2276) that amended the Selective Service Act so that women could be drafted into the armed forces.

The bill was initiated in February 1945 to meet the need for increased medical personnel, especially nurses, following the Battle of the Bulge. The bill passed Congress in March of that year, but as far as I could find no women were actually drafted under the act. There were two reasons: 1) the war in Europe ended May 8, easing the strain on medical personnel; 2) the action was considered unpopular.

The point here is that the argument that the ERA would take away an exemption that women have to conscription is simply not true. This is not the first time the government has used the threat of conscription to intimidate people. Similar threats, for example, were used against strikers during World War II. The way to fight these threats is through mass action, not reliance on an "exemption" that doesn't exist.

R. K.
Worcester, Mass.



Antioch strike

We are in the middle of a strike here at Antioch. Most of the college was shut down April 20 by financial-aid students and students in the New Directions program. The strike is primarily against the college administration, but is also an expression of opposition to the Nixon administration's cutbacks on federal-loan programs for college students.

Many of the recipients of these loans were students from poor families. The New Directions program, which is going to be cut, was begun at Antioch in 1970 to bring poor and third-world "high risk" students to study at Antioch. When the college set up the program, they committed themselves to it as a "first priority" for funds. They even claimed that they realized the federal programs supporting it might be cut and that they had reserved funds for that eventuality.

But now Antioch College has told financial-aid and New Directions students that they must seek loans from private banks in their home districts. The affected students feel this is unsatisfactory because of the higher interest and lower security of these bank loans, as well as the difficulty of getting them. Many students may not be able to meet bank-designed credit ratings.

The New Directions and financial-aid students are demanding that Antioch continue the present loan package until they graduate. This most recent strike comes as the latest in a series of actions led by New Directions students to make the college live up to its commitment to "cultural pluralism" in education.

A National Information Committee has been formed to contact other schools and coordinate national publicity. You can contact this committee by writing c/o Institute for Solution of Social Problems, Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387.

Paul Hollister
Yellow Springs, Ohio

Impressed

Please send me a bundle of 10 *Militants*. The men want to see some before they chip in. I myself have read your paper and am greatly impressed by your forward outlook. No cover-up, man. Tell it like it is. A prisoner
Maine

Panama

I enjoy reading *The Militant*, but please print more on Panama and U.S. relations.
M. Y.
Balboa Heights
Canal Zone

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

Farm Workers union in peril

California grape growers are engaged in a conspiracy with officials of the Teamsters union to prevent field workers from organizing and joining a union of their choice. This has been true for a long time, longer than the United Farm Workers Union (AFL-CIO) has existed.

The Teamsters union is able to force growers to sign contracts and pay union wages to truck drivers because it is powerful enough to control trucking terminals and loading docks and has agreements with most trucking firms that haul for the big growers. Under these circumstances it is unprofitable for the growers to try to operate their own trucks without union agreement. They discovered this more than 20 years ago.

Part of the relationship between the Teamsters union and the growers from the beginning was a tacit understanding that the union had no jurisdiction over the "peons" who work in the fields. The well-heeled Anglo Teamster officials never saw any reason to improve the conditions of these farm workers, knowing it could only lead to trouble with the growers and seeing nothing in it for themselves.

Several years ago the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, led by César Chávez, began the successful organization of farm workers in California, and won national support from the union movement and from millions of shoppers who boycotted table grapes and iceberg lettuce.

The first union contract was finally won in 1970. It was the real thing, not a back door deal. That was when the Teamster officials began to pay attention to farm workers. But it was the growers who got them interested, not the farm workers.

A Teamster contract covering field workers was officially announced in Indio, Calif., April 15. Ralph Cotner of the Western Conference of Teamsters claimed to represent most farm workers in Coachella Valley and showed signed contracts with 85 percent of the growers to prove it.

The growers are anxious to sign up with the Teamsters union because they want to get rid of the UFW hiring halls and return to the old system of hiring through labor contractors, which the Teamsters have agreed to reinstitute.

AFL-CIO President George Meany denounced the Teamsters' "sweetheart contract . . . union busting

drive" and promised "full support" to the UFW.

Monsignor George Higgins spoke strongly in favor of the UFW in the name of the Catholic Church, and described farm labor contractors as "the worst and crummiest group in all industry, who have abused workers for generations." For some reason this high church official overlooked the growers, also a bad bunch.

Representative Edward Roybal, who depends on the Mexican-American voters in Los Angeles for his seat in Congress, promised to ask the House Labor Committee to begin an investigation.

With such an array of prestigious support, combined with UFW strike action, it would appear that the farm workers are in a strong position. But there is great power on the other side, too.

The growers have poured lots of money into the Teamsters' "organizing drive." A 1972 federal grand jury heard testimony that several cash payments of \$5,000 each were made to Teamster officials by the growers. Teamster "organizers" are paid \$50 a day to beat and intimidate UFW members in the lettuce fields and vineyards.

A compliant judge issued an injunction against UFW strikers, prohibiting mass picketing. On April 18 in Coachella 100 strikers were arrested for violating the injunction. Deputy sheriffs in Riverside County are on emergency 12-hour shifts and no days off. These deputies are recruited by the growers and constitute a private army.

The growers count on the political protection Teamster President Frank Fitzsimmons expects from Nixon and from California Governor Ronald Reagan, plus their own political influence nationally and locally.

The survival of UFW will be decided in the vineyards at this stage of their struggle, but they will need the active support of all AFL-CIO unions to win. It will take more than Meany's promises and the hope of a congressional investigation.

In these times of soaring food prices, it is ironic that the men and women and children who harvest the crops are not covered by the federal minimum wage law of \$1.60 an hour and are often paid less, and are being beaten into submission for trying to join a union of their own choice. No cause is more just than that of the farm workers.

iLa Raza en Acción!

Miguel Pendas



The 'Latinization' of Miami

Ever since the socialist transformation of Cuba began, those tied to the old order have been fleeing the island.

Many were associated with the Batista dictatorship and were fleeing the wrath of the Cuban masses. Many were open counterrevolutionaries. In Cuba these people are referred to as "*gusanos*" (literally, "worms").

The U.S. government in its attempt to discredit the Cuban revolution does everything it can to encourage *gusanos*. Cuban exiles receive special immigration status that no other Latin Americans receive. There is even a privileged category of welfare set aside for them.

Cuban exiles have swollen the population of the Miami metropolitan area by 400,000. Add to this 200,000 more Latinos and it turns out that Latinos comprise nearly half the population in the greater Miami area.

Gusanos using their former business connections are establishing a small-scale financial empire in Miami. They dominate the garment and construction industries, and have helped make Miami the top cocaine-importing city in the country.

On April 16 Dade County (where Miami is located) made Spanish an official language. The county commission declared the county a bilingual and bicultural area and created a special department to implement the resolution.

The Florida State Senate Education Committee also recently passed a bill requiring public schools to teach students in their native language.

These steps, referred to as the "Latinization" of the Miami area by the *New York Times*, will benefit many Latinos, not just the counterrevolutionary scum for whom they were enacted. But this development also leads us to ask some questions.

When is Aztlán (the Southwest), where millions of Chicanos live, going to be "Latinized"? What about Chicago, New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and the Midwest? Millions of Puerto Ricans and Chicanos live there too.

In parts of southern Texas, the Spanish-speaking population is not just 50 percent, but 85 and 90 percent. When are authorities there going to declare that a bilingual and bicultural area? At present many Chicanos are actually *punished* for speaking Spanish in Texas schools.

The constitution of California recognizes Spanish as an official language and requires that all legal proceedings be conducted in that language if anyone requests it. Yet this is not done in practice. When is California going to be "Latinized"?

One can only conclude that the *gringo* rulers of America have a double standard when it comes to granting language rights. In Miami the U.S. government is trying to foster a colony of ready-made counterrevolutionaries and business connections for U.S. exploitation of Latin America. Apparently nothing is too good for these pimps of *yanqui* imperialism.

But when it comes to granting this same democratic right to millions of oppressed working people—no dice. We have to fight for it.



For Pat and Dick from the staff?—New York car dealers are offering "his and hers" Rolls-Royces, \$250,000 the pair. Accessories include walnut liquor cabinets, quodrosonic sound, virgin lamb's wool carpeting for him and blond mink for her. His, naturally, is a four-door job, hers, two-door.

We're puzzled—There's one rather obvious question that no one seems to have asked regarding the revelations about ITT offering CIA all that money to block an Allende victory in Chile. Why pay someone for a service that they're perfectly willing to perform gratis?

The morality boys—A federal task force is seeking to redefine poverty, which, an official explains, is a "value-laden term." Be assured, however, that this is no idle semantic quest. By redefining poverty, the task force is ex-

pected to help reduce it. Those redefined as unimpoverished will be ineligible for federal assistance. And surely its better to go hungry than be sociologically mislabeled.

Morality and the law—We were interested that a New York judge dismissed lewdness charges against a topless go-go bar operator for having braless mannequins in his window. Did the cops bust him for the window display rather than the show on the theory that if it moves it ain't lewd?

Clear as the services they render—The revised state code relating to the California Department of Consumer Affairs declares: "Tenses, Gender and Number: For the purposes of the rules and regulations contained in this chapter, the present tense includes the past and future tenses, and the future the present; the masculine gender in-

cludes the feminine, and the feminine the masculine; and the singular includes the plural, and the plural the singular."

Far out—"The U.S. Establishment today is essentially Trotskyist."—January 1973 *American Opinion*, voice of the John Birch Society.

Via New York, no doubt—Two postcards mailed from Athens and Beirut in 1946 were received in Bucharest last month.

A patient man—South African diamond and gold magnate Harry Oppenheimer said, "it cannot be right in principle to pay different wages for the same job depending on the color of the skin of the worker." He said the relatively high wage paid some South African white workers was possible only because of the low wage

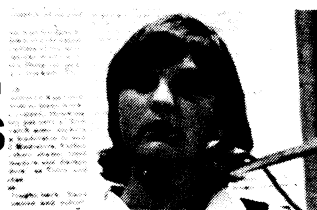
paid Blacks. However, he added according to the *Los Angeles Times*, "the situation could not be changed overnight."

Connection? What connection?—A dynamite bomb shattered the offices of Teamster's Local 515 in Chattanooga. The police chief said, "We haven't established any motive yet. We are still investigating." The union is on strike against a local ammunition plant.

Will fight to the end—Nik-O-Lok, leader in the pay toilet field, will challenge the constitutionality of a Chicago ordinance banning the dime-grabbers in public buildings and at the airport. The ban was won by the Committee to End Pay Toilets in America (CEPTIA). A Nik-O-Lok spokesman said, "Anytime anyone tries to put you out of business you're worried."

Women In Revolt

Linda Jenness



Is feminism 'relevant' to Black women?

Some people say that feminist demands are of no concern to Black women. But 700 Black women who met in Detroit a few weeks ago say the opposite. The Women's Conference of Concerns was called by Black Detroit Councilwoman Erma Henderson for Black women to discuss "the many problems affecting employment, career opportunities, child care, the legal status of women, consumer problems, equal pay for equal work."

The large conference held workshops and passed resolutions on a variety of issues, including the terrorist police unit in Detroit called STRESS ("Stop the Robberies, Enjoy Safe Streets"). When the reporter from the workshop on STRESS told the conference that the workshop decision was to take no action on the STRESS issue, a mass outcry of objection came from the audience. The chairwoman decided to handle the dispute by a stand-up vote. When those in favor of demanding abolition of STRESS were asked to stand, almost the entire audience was on their feet. Those who favored STRESS or were undecided were a tiny minority.

The conference also condemned Nixon's war budget. Henderson said, "Nixon divided up that

big piece of pie and called it a budget, one part was called military and it was greater than domestic." "We have got to let the world know," she said, "that 'domestic' means us." It was also pointed out that the "domestic" budget was spent in large part on jails, courts, police departments, and groups like STRESS, which "has an execution rate that is only exceeded by armed gangsters."

The Black women at the conference recognized that they need to unite as Black women because "women know best our deep needs for identity with those issues that affect our quality of life." Black women united, they said, can move like "onemighty army."

Another theme, however, was the recognition that Black women must join forces and form alliances with other oppressed people in order to be effective. They noted that Blacks, women, and Chicanos must unite to fight a common enemy. As Henderson put it, "We have got to stop and find the real enemy and let him know."

The demands being raised by feminists today are in the interest of Black women. Black women, and other women from the oppressed nationalities, suffer the most from lack of child care, and un-

equal pay and job opportunities. They also suffer because they are Black, and because Black women in their vast majority are working women, they are also oppressed as workers. They are triply oppressed.

For instance, the *Wall Street Journal* reports that in 1969 Black women with a high school degree earned \$4,565 compared with \$7,041 for Black men, \$5,106 for white women, and \$9,187 for white men.

Action for Boston Community Development reports that in Boston Black females between 16 and 21 years of age have the highest unemployment rate—25.9 percent.

In 1970, 60 percent of the Black women who headed households and held jobs earned less than \$3,000 a year. The corresponding figure for white women was 30 percent.

Twenty-seven percent of all Black families are headed by women. This means that the cutbacks in funds for day-care centers are going to affect Black women the most, forcing many of them onto welfare.

It is precisely because their oppression is so great that Black women will be among the staunchest fighters for feminist demands.

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



Black social workers hold conference

One of the products of Black awareness has been the development, in recent years, of Black professional organizations, separate from their predominantly white counterparts. Their general purpose is to deal with the relationship of the Black professional to the broader Black community.

One of the largest and best organized of these, the National Association of Black Social Workers (NABSW), held its annual conference April 18-21 in New York. Five thousand people attended.

The theme for this year's gathering was "nation building." Workshops, some as large as 250 people, discussed such subjects as political and economic development, health services, communications, the elderly, and "new theories on the Black personality." One workshop entitled "basic skills of nation building" was led by a member of the Committee for a Unified Newark, a group led by Imam Baraka.

The high point of the conference was a speech by NABSW President Cenie Williams Jr., in which he said Blacks should "move to establish an independent party."

Williams stated, "Black social workers can no longer stay aloof from the political arena when it affects all aspects of our lives. . . . We have formed

a permanent coalition with the hypocritical Democratic Party, have permanently dampered the abrasive CIA Republican Party. . . . Why should we continue to pay allegiance to the two-party system if the system is not working and the parties only function in a manner to protect the interest of the white majority.

"It is my feeling that a massive withdrawal of Black voters from the Democratic [Party]—not to the Republicans, not into electoral abstention, but into a powerful party of their own—would shake the political structure of this country from top to bottom."

The NABSW was organized five years ago and has chapters in more than 60 areas across the country with 10,000 members.

If Williams, with the NABSW, moves to translate his thoughts on a Black party into action, it would represent the best step they could take to begin "nation building."

● Preliminary hearings have begun in New York in the case of Brother Muhammad Ahmad (Max Stanford).

Ahmad was arrested by FBI agents Sept. 1, 1972, in San Diego at the Congress of African

People conference. He was charged with conspiracy to commit "criminal anarchy" against the state of New York, assaulting a police officer, and jumping bail.

These charges stem from 1967. At that time, Ahmad, who was field marshal of the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM), was arrested along with other RAM members and accused of conspiring to blow up the Statue of Liberty, Liberty Bell, Washington Monument, and to assassinate civil rights leaders Roy Wilkins and Whitney Young. Ahmad was arrested in Philadelphia but was taken to New York to stand trial.

Bail was set at \$100,000. He was held for 13 months. After bail was posted he went "underground" and remained at large until his capture in September.

Brother Ahmad is a longtime activist in the Black liberation struggle. He worked with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee in the South in the early '60s. In 1966 he moved to New York and helped form the New York chapter of the Black Panther Party.

Most recently, Ahmad formed the All-African People's Party, a Pan-Africanist organization of which he is chairman.

Young Socialist conference in Detroit repels NCLC hoodlums

By MIKE KELLEY

DETROIT, May 9 — For the first time the so-called National Caucus of Labor Committees (NCLC) has assaulted a meeting sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance. They were quickly repulsed by an organized defense guard. The attack was another in a series of frenzied, goon-squad assaults in recent weeks against the Communist Party, Young Workers Liberation League, and other groups on the left.

On May 5 a group of hoodlums, led

On May 5, the same day as the NCLC assault on the Detroit Socialist Educational Weekend was repulsed, a member of the New York Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party was assaulted by at least three NCLC thugs. Andy Nakrin, a leader of the New York University YSA, said his attackers told him, "This is for Detroit." Nakrin was assaulted while walking alone on the NYU campus.

The following day, May 6, a telephone message from an NCLC spokesman was received by Helen Schiff, the Lower Manhattan SWP organizer. The caller threatened to "retaliate" against the SWP "in a 10-to-one ratio—that is, for every one of us that you get, we will get 10 of you."

by and including recognized members of the NCLC, attacked a session of a regional socialist educational conference at Wayne State University. Speaker at the session was Peter Buch, a nationally known spokesman for the SWP on the Mideast, speaking on the Palestinian liberation movement.

When the attack came, some 18 to 20 people, including the speaker, were inside the meeting room in the University Center Building. There were another six to nine people registering for the conference and those doing the registering outside the room. These included Jerry Crist, who is partially paralyzed and has to wear a brace and use special crutches to get about. He turned out to be a target of the thugs.

I interviewed Harold Schlechtweg, a student from Bloomington, Ind., who was attending the conference. He was the first victim of the attackers. Schlechtweg was holding open the doors for arriving participants when he heard someone shout, "Let's go!"

At this point a group he estimates at about 15 rounded the corner of the stairwell, rushed up the stairs, knocked him over, and entered the hallway.

He said he was then beaten with wooden sticks by a number of them. He could only protect himself by rolling into a ball and covering his head and neck. He showed this reporter numerous welts and bruises all over his body.

Most of those in the process of registering in the hallway were chased down the hallway and out another door. Crist, however, couldn't move. He was knocked down and beaten with clubs by three or four hoodlums. He was later taken to Ford Hospital, where he was treated for a serious gash on the right side of the head and numerous bruises.

Doctor Mxolisi Ntlabati of the Center for Black Studies at Wayne State University, and a visiting friend from New York, Professor Nonceba Lubanga, confirmed this account of the attack. They had come up the stairs just before the attackers and were about to enter Doctor Ntlabati's fifth floor office. Neither was attending the conference.

Dr. Ntlabati said the attacking group had "police sticks, wooden weapons, an iron bar, and iron hammers." He said he saw the registration table "knocked over" and the people sitting behind it were attacked.

Upon hearing the commotion outside, marshals in the meeting room rushed outside to aid the victims of the attack and to prevent the meeting from being broken up. They included members of the YSA, International Socialists, SWP, and unaffiliated individuals.

Within two or three minutes, the attackers were repelled and driven back out the doors they had come through. Several weapons were seized from them including a hammer and several clubs. Other weapons used by the NCLCers included at least one numchuck (two wooden blocks connected by a heavy chain), at least one length of chain, and karate sticks.

Apparently some of the NCLCers had no stomach for beating someone who is crippled. It was noticed that as many as five or six of the NCLC attackers, including one of their leading members, Richi Freeman, held back from participating in the initial attack and then retreated when the marshals arrived.

One of the marshals, Don Bechler, was also injured seriously enough to require treatment at the Ford Hospital.

As the NCLC people hastily retreated, it was noticed that they were carrying several of their members. NCLC members later reported several "seriously hurt."

After the attack more people arrived for the conference, and Peter Buch's talk began on time at 3 p.m.

Just before the meeting began, however, campus police arrived. They took all the weapons captured from the thugs and objects that conference participants had picked up to defend themselves. The meeting organizers protested vehemently that this would leave the meeting open to further attacks.

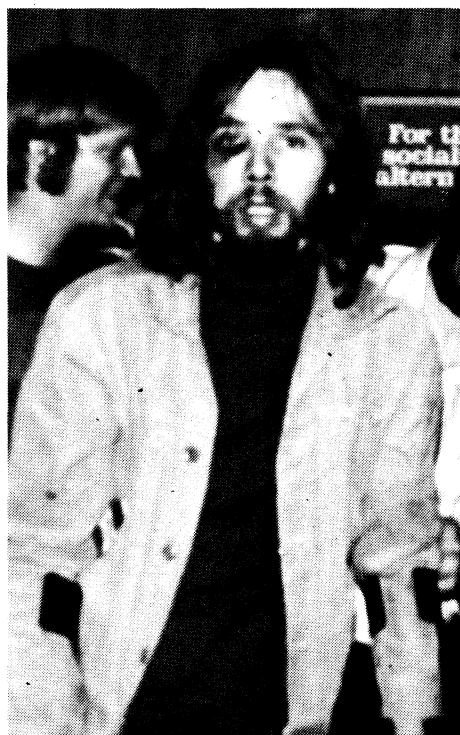
Upon leaving the meeting, it was discovered the police had turned away a number of people who wanted to at-

tend the conference shortly after it began. According to Ken Weber, a prominent local minister, he and some 20 others were not allowed to attend the meeting.

Members of various organizations, including the International Socialists, Workers League, and Spartacist League, joined the SWP and YSA in defending the Detroit SWP mayoral campaign banquet that same evening and the two sessions of the conference held on the following Sunday. There were no further incidents.

Most radical groups in Detroit have agreed to a united defense for future meetings threatened by NCLC goons.

A number of groups on the Wayne State University campus, including



Militant/Gene Yzquierdo
Jerry Crist, a paraplegic, was singled out for attack by NCLC goons.

members of the Young Workers Liberation League, have agreed to help defend a meeting scheduled for Andrew Pulley, national secretary of the YSA, at the university tomorrow.

This is the first known physical attack by the NCLC in Detroit. Prior to this, however, they have verbally threatened a number of organizations and individuals. For instance, earlier the same day, at the broadly sponsored Michigan Committee Against High Prices demonstration, Richard Gibson, president of the local Welfare Employees Union, was told, "We're going to get you next," by people he recognized as members of the NCLC.



Militant/Gene Yzquierdo
Collection is taken at SWP mayoral campaign banquet, held without incident following 'Labor Committee' attack on earlier session of socialist conference.

Cops, rightists join NCLC anti-communist campaign

It has become clear that the so-called National Caucus of Labor Committees has been joined by police agents and right-wing thugs. The NCLC is a small group that has claimed to be socialist. However its current "Operation Mop-Up" campaign to physically "destroy" the Communist Party, Socialist Workers Party, and other groups on the left, has attracted right-wingers and cops who have exactly the same aim.

On May 6, 16 NCLC members were arrested in Philadelphia after attempting to invade a meeting of the Public Works Action Committee. One of those arrested, Néreida Cordero, was found to be a state parole investigator.

This was the second time that NCLC thugs were identified as part of the police apparatus. One of those arrested for the April 11 attack on Young Workers Liberation League members in Philadelphia was Daniel Valdes, another parole investigator, who was found to be carrying a loaded .38 revolver. Cordero gave the same home address to the police that Valdes had given.

According to the May 8 *Daily World*, the attackers at the Public Works Action Committee meeting were armed with clubs and numchucks. Three of those who repelled the NCLC thugs required medical attention, one of them a member of the YWLL and two members of the Public Works Action Committee. Three defenders of the meeting were also arrested on charges of disorderly conduct.

Another example of right-wingers using the NCLC "Operation Mop-Up" campaign for their own purposes occurred in Tarrytown, N.Y. A leaflet appeared at the auto plant in Tarrytown signed by the "UAW Committee to Stop Communism." It appealed to workers not to support Bill Scott, a leader of Trade Union Action and Democracy, who was running for shop chairman in UAW Local 664 in Tarrytown.

The leaflet quotes the NCLC publication *New Solidarity*, which is identified as published by the "National Caucus of Labor," attacking Scott as a supporter of the Communist Party.

The headline on the leaflet says, "Stop the Pinkos—Do you want the commie flag flying at the union hall?" It says further on, "Fight GM and fight the commies—Hanoi, Moscow, Red China, Stalin, Lenin, Trotsky, or Scott. None shall replace the UAW President Woodcock as the voice and leader of the UAW member. The UAW blue shirt must never be changed to pink."

The violent campaign by the NCLC to "destroy" the Communist Party, Socialist Workers Party, and other radical organizations has become indistinguishable from the anticommunism of the rightists and the government.

U.S. bomber crews: 'Stop this insanity!'

The following are excerpts from letters received by Senator William Fulbright (D-Ark.) from members of B-52 bomber crews who oppose the current U.S. bombing of Cambodia. At least a dozen such letters were received by Fulbright and by Senator Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.).

It is another sign of the depth of antiwar sentiment in the United States that even these airmen, most of them officers, are beginning to protest the bombing. Following the December bombing raids against Hanoi and Haiphong, Captain Michael Heck and four other B-52 crew members refused orders to continue bombing missions against these population centers.

The excerpts are taken from the May 1 *Congressional Record*.

April 17, 1973

Dear Sir: I am a B-52 gunner on temporary duty with my crew at Andersen AFB, Guam. After listening to all the reports of the war being over and the troops coming home, I, as a resident of Arkansas, decided to write this letter to you, because for the aircrews and the support troops of the B-52 force it is not over and we are not



Antiwar sentiment in the U.S. armed forces has grown as popular opposition to the war increased.

coming home! . . .

In April of 1972, my unit, consisting of two B-52G bomb squadrons, was deployed to Guam. And we have been here continuously since then.

Our announced mission when we came over was to stop the invasion. As you know, this was accomplished. Then we were told we would not be going home until there was a cease-fire in Vietnam. After the raids of 18 to 29 December, the cease-fire was signed and our troops and POWs started returning home. We were told it would be at least ninety days after the effective date before we could leave.

We bombed right up to the effective date and then shifted to bombing Laos without a pause. We were then informed we would not be leaving until there was a cease-fire in Laos. After the cease-fire in Laos, there was a short pause and then we started bombing Cambodia! Now, as of yesterday, we have started bombing Laos again! . . .

I am concerned about our increasing involvement in Cambodia and Laos. I fear that we will get into another situation like the one that led to the ten years of Vietnam. . . .

Respectfully yours, *SSgt., USAF*

April 18, 1973

Senator Fulbright: I am a B-52 navigator currently on temporary duty at Andersen AFB, Guam. I am writing to you to urge you to do your utmost to end our involvement in the continuing war in Southeast Asia.

I am on my 4th tour of duty here now and have over 400 days fighting this war. I have over 120 combat missions, an air medal with 5 oak leaf clusters, and have been recommended for a Distinguished Flying Cross for heroism for action over North Vietnam. I am not unlike most of our servicemen still serving in Southeast Asia. . . .

We are no more now than a mercenary army fighting on the whims and discretion of only one man. The people are being denied their voice thru Congress as provided for in our constitution. Under what justification

do we bomb a population merely upon the request of another government. We have no money at home for needed social programs, but we spend millions daily to bomb thousands of innocent civilians who have never done anything to us. Many, if not most, of the B-52 crew members are tired of killing for no reason, but they do not have the means to make their voices heard. We think we deserve the chance to patch up the many personal

unable to get out of our web. . . . With the idea that we came here to help free our POWs we feel even more misused and abused now that they are home and we're still here. What purpose are we serving? . . .

Sgt.

April 10, 1973

Dear Sir: . . . The opportunity of staying home while others [other crew members] come in your stay is still



U.S. bomber crewman wrote Senator Kennedy, 'Every day of bombing splashes blood in the face of America. What will we tell our children?'

problems we all have that were created by these many years of war. If Mr. Nixon will not stop this insanity, then the Congress and the people must. How many bodies must there be, ours and theirs, before we get out! . . .

Sincerely, *Capt., USAF*

March 30, 1973

Dear Senator Fulbright: Until I heard your justified criticism of the Administration's viewpoint on the bombing in Southeast Asia, namely Cambodia, my decision as to whether or not I would write was merely a confused debate. However, now that I know where you stand I've decided to pour it all out.

Senator Fulbright, we are wrong for the continued slaughter but are afraid to admit it. Because of the amount of people who have their hands in the "profit pot" we have found ourselves

falling short of what is desperately needed: the complete withdrawal of all forces from Indochina and the abandonment of our present policies of "Dial-A-B-52-Strike-Whenever-And-Wherever-You-Want." You must know that this plea is not a one man show. The majority of the crew force presently engaged in these operations are tired and fed up with the entire affair; perhaps it is a numbness or maybe despair which keeps the situation less volatile. More likely it is the hopelessness of fighting city hall. We extend to you, a servant of the people, a petition of hope that you will work hard within your power to enlighten both the people of America and the leaders who represent them that further activity in Indochina is foolhardy and suicidal, and a damn waste of human life and dignity. . . .

Sincerely, *Lt., USAF*

SWP tour finds distrust of Nixon's 'peace'

By CAROLINE LUND

Syd Stapleton has just finished the last leg of a 10-week tour through Western and Southern states speaking on the revolutionary socialist view of the Southeast Asian war and the Vietnam cease-fire accords.

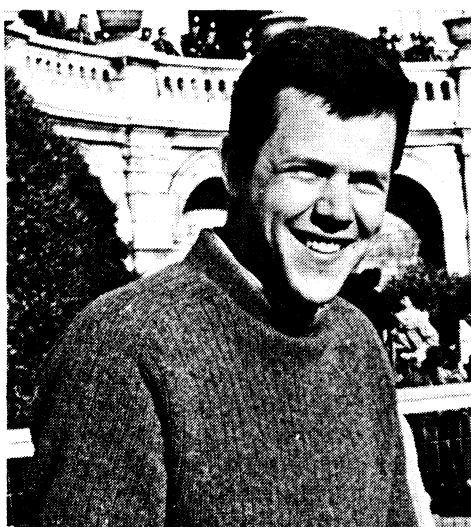
It was one of three tours over the past months by leaders of the Socialist Workers Party aimed at provoking discussion in the radical and antiwar movements around this important question and urging continued protests demanding total U.S. withdrawal from Southeast Asia. Stapleton is a longtime antiwar activist.

Stapleton spoke at university and high school meetings and on radio talk shows. He also gave newspaper interviews. Most often, he told me, discussion following his talk would shift from the events in Southeast Asia to such questions as why the U.S. got involved in Vietnam, the nature of the capitalist system, and what kind of organization is needed to change this society.

Stapleton said he noticed a change in the opinions of many in the antiwar movement who had at first seen the Vietnam accords as a definitive victory for the Vietnamese in terms of forcing the U.S. out of their country. "When the bombing in Laos and Cambodia developed, and when it became

clear that the United States was backing Thieu to the hilt, this brought home to a lot of people that the U.S. has no intention of getting out of Southeast Asia until it is forced to," he said.

This shift was evident in a debate Stapleton participated in at the University of Colorado in Boulder along with Tom Mayer of the New American Movement and Professor Anatole Anton. Neither attempted to defend the treaty as representing the interests of the Vietnamese.



Militant/Harry Ring

Syd Stapleton at April 24, 1971, antiwar demonstration.

The same thing was true in Houston, where Stapleton spoke on a panel along with two Vietnam veterans and the student body president of the University of Houston. All acknowledged that the treaty contained grave violations of the right of the Vietnamese to self-determination.

The panel was cosponsored by the Houston Peace Action Coalition and the Houston Committee to End the War in Vietnam. The latter group had previously taken a position of support to the Vietnam treaty and allied itself with the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice. However, the thinking of activists in this committee has changed somewhat under the impact of the developments since the signing of the treaty.

At the University of Texas in Austin Stapleton spoke to three classes of about 30 each and one large class of 150. "The response in all of the classes," he said, "was totally sympathetic to my view of the treaty—that Nixon has no intention of respecting the rights of the Vietnamese—and people were very much interested in socialist ideas.

"They wanted to discuss how to abolish capitalism in the United States, how a socialist system could work without competition to spur incentive, etc. I think a number of them will look into joining the Young Socialist Al-

liance."

The YSA held a successful socialist educational conference at the University of Texas at which Stapleton also spoke. It attracted a large number of international students, from Mexico, Iran, Palestine, and Latin America.

One question that arose quite often in Stapleton's meetings concerned the allegations of torture from some of the former POWs. "They would ask me if I thought Jane Fonda was right in denying torture by the Vietnamese. I said that I had no way of knowing the details of their treatment.

"But quite frankly, I said, when you look at what happened to the Vietnamese over the last 12 years, with a million and a half dead, seven million refugees, huge areas of the country defoliated, etc., it indicates how hypocritical and racist the Nixon administration is. Nixon tries to get us to worry about these few POWs in the hopes that you'll forget about the Vietnamese.

"I also said I was much more worried about the political prisoners of the Thieu regime in South Vietnam, who are never going to be released as long as Thieu is in power.

"People really responded to this. It made sense to them that Nixon was just trying to use this as a ploy to get people to support his foreign policy."

'State of World' message most belligerent yet

Nixon escalates threats of war to Hanoi

From Intercontinental Press

MAY 7—In his May 4 "State of the World" report to Congress, Nixon leveled his most belligerent public threat yet against the North Vietnamese. He stated that if Hanoi continues to support insurgent movements in Southeast Asia, "it would risk revived confrontation with [the U. S.]."

The report also contained a warning aimed at Moscow and Peking. "Improvement of relations among the major world powers" would be threatened, Nixon advised, if Moscow and

The American people oppose Nixon's bombing of Cambodia by 49 to 33 percent, according to a Harris Poll released May 7. The bombing was opposed even though 73 percent of the 1,537 households questioned thought it was likely the Cambodian insurgents would take over.

The most common reasons given for opposing the bombing raids were: "We have no business there and should get out"; "the bombing is inhuman"; and "it could lead to our becoming involved in another Vietnam."

Peking continue sending arms to Hanoi. Nixon appealed to the Soviet and Chinese bureaucrats to "lend a moderating influence" by helping to dampen the struggles for social justice in Southeast Asia.

Meanwhile, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State William Sullivan held three days of talks with representatives of the North Vietnamese in Paris April 27, 29, and 30. On May 1 Sullivan indicated to journalists the subject of the discussions: the conditions Hanoi would have to meet to escape a resumption of the bombing of North Vietnam.

"Hanoi will soon have to make its choice and decide whether it wants full implementation of the accords in good faith or if it prefers to take the

path which would take us to the unfortunate military situation to which we hoped to put an end by signing the cease-fire agreement. . . ."

The Nixon administration has publicly stated that talks between Henry Kissinger and Le Duc Tho are set for mid-May and that it regards Sullivan's meetings with Nguyen Co Thach, the North Vietnamese deputy foreign minister, as "preliminary."

The North Vietnamese have denied agreeing to any such negotiations. They have indicated that Nixon could demonstrate his concern for "implementation" of the agreement by resuming the sweeping of mines from North Vietnamese harbors, ending reconnaissance flights over North Vietnam, and resuming discussions on economic aid. "The atmosphere [for talks] is not favorable," Thach told reporters in Paris.

What Nixon wants to implement, of course, is the end of the South Vietnamese Provisional Revolutionary Government's resistance to Thieu's attacks and the end of the Cambodian liberation forces' offensive against the puppet Lon Nol regime. As Secretary of State William Rogers put it in testimony before the Senate foreign relations committee April 30:

"We are now in the process of having further discussions with the North Vietnamese with regard to the implementation of the Paris agreement. We hope these discussions will be successful and will lead to a cease-fire in Cambodia."

Nixon has reason for haste in trying to force a cease-fire on the Cambodian rebels. Having hypocritically proclaimed "peace with honor" last January, he obviously hoped that bombing raids would quickly produce similar "honorable peace" on his terms before U. S. and world public opinion became aroused at the continuation of the war.

This plan has been upset by the determination of the Cambodian liberation fighters and the helplessness of the puppet "government" in Pnom-

penh. Despite massive bombing attacks, the liberation forces control most of the country, and the air raids have been shifted to the very outskirts of Pnompenh, where they are visible to dozens of journalists waiting to report Lon Nol's flight to join his Swiss bank accounts.

While Nixon's barbarism in Cambodia has not yet aroused protests on the scale of those in defense of Vietnam, it is obvious that the potential for such action grows the longer the bombing continues.

The Swedish Social Democratic government has indicated its sounding of public opinion by condemning the bombings. In a statement to parliament April 26, Foreign Minister Kristner Wickman said, ". . . it is from the government's view not acceptable that a big power with superior resources in military technique interferes in a civil war in a small country."

"The bombings appear so much more provocative since they, as was the case earlier in Vietnam, indiscriminately hit the civilian population."

Within the United States, the Watergate scandal now threatens to destroy completely Nixon's already badly eroded credibility. Members of Congress have begun to raise proposals in opposition to the bombing, a sign that they fear the possibility of an explosion of protests.

On April 30 Secretary of State William Rogers attempted to justify U. S. raids on Cambodia before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee by saying they were permitted under the Vietnam cease-fire accords until a cease-fire was signed in Cambodia. Many members of Congress did not find this convincing enough.

On May 3 the Democratic Policy and Steering Committee of the House adopted a resolution against support to an administration request for \$500-million for military operations in Indochina.

On the same day Senator Charles Mathias (R-Md.), a Nixon supporter, introduced a resolution calling the bombing of Cambodia illegal and urging a stop to it. The resolution, cosponsored by Democratic whip Mike Mansfield, would not, however, be binding on Nixon even if passed. Mansfield said that only if Nixon ignores this "advice" would the Democrats move to cut off funds for the bombing.

The rising congressional debate on Southeast Asia reflects the mass sentiment for an end to U. S. military intervention in Southeast Asia, and the widespread fear that Nixon's current policy is leading to a reescalation of the war. However, the timid moves in Congress, as throughout the history of the war, have been limited to posturing and empty rhetoric.



Bombing of Cambodia continues as Nixon threatens wider war

No fanfare for 2.5 million Vietnam veterans

By TOM CHADDOCK

For the past few months we have been shown pictures of the returning POWs released from North Vietnam. We are told that these men represent the best and highest traditions of the American serviceman.

Yet among all the fanfare and the red, white, and blue bunting, something seems to have gotten lost. For contrary to what Richard Nixon would like us to believe, these 600 returned POWs are not the only persons who went to Vietnam. In fact there are at present more than 2.5 million Vietnam veterans in the United States.

While Nixon has been so busy using the POWs as political tools, he would like us to forget what the war has done to the human cannon fodder that he and previous American presidents sent off to Vietnam.

There is much that Nixon would want us to forget. He wants us to forget that the Vietnam veteran has an unemployment rate of twice that of the nonveteran. He wants us to forget that the Black and Chicano veteran has an unemployment rate three times that of the nonveteran.

He would like us to close our eyes to the 700,000 veterans who came back from Vietnam with drug problems because of the dealers in South Vietnam who are under the protection of the Saigon government. He would like us to ignore the fact that there are places for only 6,000 such people under his new programs. He would, in fact, like us to go along with his efforts to reduce the federal funds for drug-related programs so that he can continue to spend the money on bombs for Indochina.

Nixon and the Defense Department tell us that the Vietnam war has created no special problems for veterans. Well, let's look at some figures.

According to U. S. Defense Department statistics, the rate of World War II veterans with psychological disorders was 10.1 percent, and the rate of Korean war veterans with such disorders was 3.7 percent. But according to Dr. Cherry Cedarleaf, a senior Veterans Administration staff psychologist, in an article in the Aug. 28, 1972, *New York Times*, the rate of psychological disorders for Vietnam veterans runs to 50 percent.

What steps has the Nixon admin-

istration taken to help the returned Vietnam veteran? One indication of the attitude that pervades the White House was the proposal put before



Nixon uses POWs but ignores needs of Vietnam vets.

Congress by the Veterans Administration last February. It would have cut benefits to disabled veterans by some 50 percent. This would mean that a vet who now gets about \$220 a month for losing a leg in Vietnam would get only \$110 under the proposed scheme.

The plan, however, would not have affected the 70 percent disability that General John Lavelle, who was cashiered for launching unauthorized bombing strikes against North Vietnam, now gets.

The proposal was reversed only after an outraged public reacted by flooding Congress with letters of protest. But it shows how far Nixon will go.

What is needed is a massive program for Vietnam veterans. We must spend the money that is now being used for weapons of destruction to build new hospitals, for expanded drug programs, educational programs, and for planning out the economy so that veterans can find jobs. People must begin to realize that Vietnam veterans don't want pity; what we want is a chance to return to a normal life. We have seen hell close up, and we want to come home.

Black miners paid starvation wages

S. Africa profits from gold sales rise

By BAXTER SMITH

*"Let me dig this gold that's not mine
... in this hole,*

*When I have to go home empty-
handed after my contract's done,
with ninety bucks in my purse
and plenty-seeded clothes, who's
gold is this?*

Where does the gold to?"

These words to a song written by the Black South African musician Hugh Masekela are meant to protest the theft of millions of dollars in gold,

government collected mammoth sums in taxes on mine profits.

In just one short month, such taxes made possible a complete turnaround in the budget. It went from a deficit of about \$270-million to a cash surplus of \$750-million, for a total gain of more than \$1-billion, according to the March 24 Johannesburg Star. The 1973-74 budget totals \$6.7-billion.

These new revenues have enabled the Pretoria government to increase

craft to South Africa.

The new budget allows for a 30 percent increase over last year's allocations to "separate development." Almost \$400-million is budgeted to the Department of Bantu Administration and Development. This is the agency that supervises South Africa's vicious system of racial segregation.

Under apartheid policy, the "homelands," or Bantustans, are the eight land reserves designated for the African population. These Bantustans encompass less than 14 percent of the total land area, yet Blacks comprise 70 percent of the population.

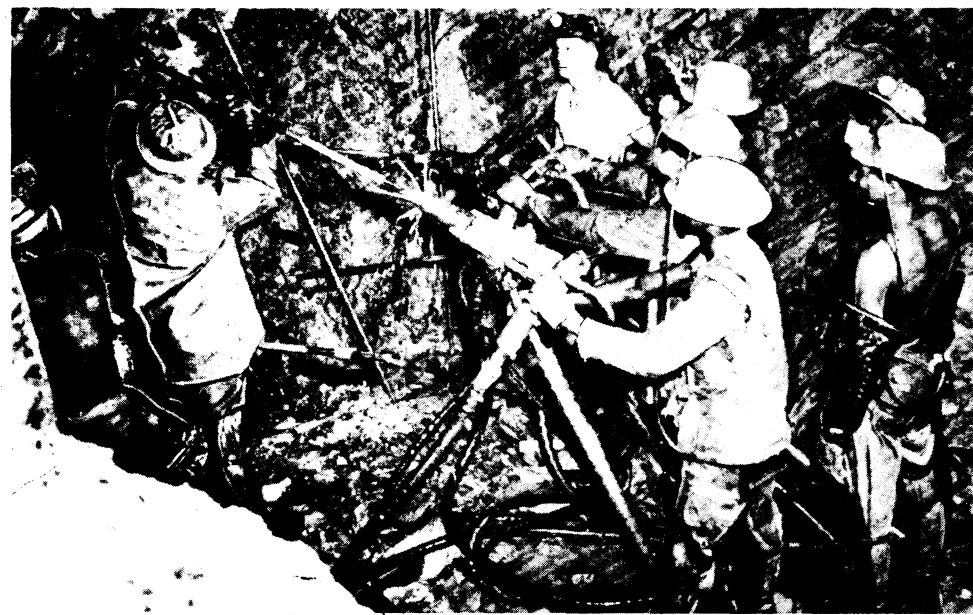
Each year, thousands of Black families and individuals are uprooted and relocated to one or another of these reserves. Under the law, Blacks have no choice in the matter and face jailing if they resist. In the white areas, which include all major towns and cities, Blacks are subject to the "influx control" laws and must carry pass books at all times.

The third major aspect of the budget is the tax cuts. By cutting the sales tax and erasing the 10 percent income tax surcharge, the government hopes to rally new support among the white population. Morale has been low recently due to several major events that have taken their toll in public opinion. Most recent was the decision by Norman Kirk, the New Zealand Labour Party prime minister, to cancel the Springbok South African rugby team's visit to New Zealand.

In March, eight Black student leaders from the South African Student Organization and eight white student leaders from the English-speaking student organization, the National Union of South African Students, were banned for their role in opposing apartheid. Under the banning order, the students are restricted to the immediate area surrounding their homes. They cannot play a role in the student organizations or in public life. Any violation of their banning order, which runs for five years, will result in a jail sentence.

The bannings, all done without a trial, stirred considerable debate with-

Continued on page 22



taken each year from South African mines by the white settlers who rule the country.

South Africa produces more than three-quarters of the "free world's" gold supply. And the profits the government reaps from taxes on the sale of gold constitute one of the main props for the South African economy.

Due to the recent weakening of the U.S. dollar, the South African gold mining industry has prospered on a scale unparalleled in the country's 63-year history. The free market price of gold has reached \$90 an ounce. With the U.S. price fixed at \$42 an ounce, South Africa has been making a killing on gold sales to speculators.

From the dollar devaluation in February to March 31—the end of the 1972 fiscal year—the South African

spending for arms and for "separate development," the government euphemism for racial segregation—apart-

heid. These budget allocations bolster South Africa's reputation as the strongest and most oppressive nation in Africa.

The largest slice of the budget, a record \$860-million, is projected for "defense." By comparison, just two years ago government "defense" spending was \$520-million. A healthy portion of this will go to the South African police force for use in controlling and suppressing students and Black workers.

About \$150-million will go to buy small arms and aircraft. Israel and England, in defiance of the 1964 United Nations embargo, are the major suppliers of small arms and air-

Houston protest hits Shell Oil

By TOM VERNIER

HOUSTON, April 26—"Two, four, six, eight, why won't Shell negotiate? Hey, hey, whaddya say, health and safety all the way!" Three hundred people, chanting and singing, picketed outside Houston's Hyatt-Regency Hotel today in support of striking workers at Shell Oil.

The picket line was organized by the Women's Auxiliary of Local 4-367 of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, the local that is currently on strike at Shell's Houston refinery. Inside the hotel was the object of their protest—a meeting of Shell stockholders.

Shell workers have been striking Shell for more than three months in a dispute over hazardous conditions in the plants. The union wants Shell to tell them who gets sick, who gets injured, and who dies in the refineries, and why. They want data on the effects of prolonged exposure to chlorine, benzene, and other chemicals that are present in the plants. They want medical supervision of working conditions at Shell.

Shell continues to say "no" to these demands. According to Shell management, the workers want "too much control" over their jobs.

Every section of the organized labor movement in Houston was present at the picket line. Sixteen unions sent representatives with picket signs: Teamsters, Sheet Metal Workers, Meat Cutters, Communications Workers, Electrical Workers, Machinists, Farm Workers, Longshoremen, Steelworkers, Office and Professional Employees, Glaziers and Glass Workers, Oil Workers, Postal Workers, Bakery and Confectionary Workers, and Transport Workers. Students from the University of Houston and members of the Mexican-American Youth Organization were also on the picket line.

The picketers demonstrated energetically for nearly two hours joining in choruses of "Solidarity Forever" and "Hang Down Your Head, Royal Dutch Shell." They chanted "Royal Dutch Shell stinks!" and "Two, four, six, eight, who do we appreciate? Unions!" But, although one picketer wore a sign proclaiming "I'm a Shell stockholder for the striking workers," management is still holding firm.

NEW YORK, April 26—Supporters of the Shell boycott held a picket line here today outside the Shell offices at Rockefeller Center despite a pouring rain.

Although the picketers were few in number, several prominent figures in the ecology movement turned out. These included Marc Messing of the Scientists Institute for Public Information, who is New York coordinator of the Shell boycott; Tom Stokes of ENVIRONMENT!; David Kotelchuk of Health-Pac; and Robert Rickles, former head of the city's Environmental Protection Agency and now with the Institute for Public Transportation.



African Liberation Day

Support builds for May 26 actions

NEW YORK, May 8—Plans continue for the African Liberation Day protests on May 26.

In New York, logistics for the march and rally have been set. Protesters will assemble at 47 Street and First Avenue (United Nations Plaza) at 9 a.m. At 11 a.m., they will march to Colonel Charles Young Park at 145 Street and Lenox Avenue in Harlem. The rally will begin at 2 p.m.

The march route will take the protesters past the Union Carbide building, the South African embassy, and the General Motors building, where speakers will indict these firms and the government of South Africa for aiding in the suppression of the freedom struggle in southern Africa.

In Boston, plans are set for a May 26 march and rally in Roxbury, the predominantly Black section of Boston. More than 30 groups and prominent individuals comprise the African Liberation Day Committee, which is hosting the protest, including the Pan-African Liberation Committee at Harvard University; African Liberation Support Committee; Hay-

ward Henry of the Congress of African People; Mel King of the Black United Front; and Democratic State Representative Hubie Jones.

May 26 activists in Philadelphia report considerable success in involving Black students and Black student groups from the many colleges in the area. Groups involved include the Youth Organization for Black Unity at Lincoln University; Pan-African Student Assembly at Temple University; Black Student Union at Montgomery County Community College; and the Black Student League at Philadelphia Community College.

The recent national steering committee meeting of the African Liberation Support Committee, the group spearheading May 26 nationally, decided to launch a national boycott of all Gulf Oil and Polaroid Corporation products after the May 26 demonstrations.

It also reaffirmed an earlier decision to raise \$40,000 during the month of May to donate to various liberation organizations in Africa.



Manhattan Borough President Percy Sutton, on ladder at right, supporting May 26 protest in New York City.

World Outlook

A WEEKLY INTERNATIONAL SUPPLEMENT TO THE MILITANT BASED ON SELECTIONS FROM INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS,
A NEWSMAGAZINE REFLECTING THE VIEWPOINT OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM.

MAY 18, 1973

A fight for human dignity

The struggle of the immigrant workers in France

By Jon Rothschild

"I came here eight months ago and got hired as a semiskilled worker. The safety instructions were written in French. I can't read French. I got a hand torn off by the machine."

A not unusual accident report. According to the French National Statistical Institute, the workplace accident rate for immigrant workers is eight times higher than it is for French workers. In the metal industry, where the immigrants are 12 percent of the work force, they are 24 percent of the workers injured on the job. This is one of the few statistical categories in which the immigrants score higher than the French workers. Others include the rate of hospitalization among youth, the incidence of rickets, and the death rate from tuberculosis.

Victimization of foreign workers has gone on in France (and other Western countries) for years. It has not been the subject of newspaper articles in the bourgeois press or of parliamentary debate until recently. This is for two reasons: The number of foreign workers in France has dramatically risen in the last decade; and the foreign workers have begun to struggle against their conditions of life.

According to the official French census agency, as of January 1972 there were 3,628,452 immigrant workers in France. Of these, just under 2 million are men, about 870,000 are women, and about 825,000 are children. Most nongovernmental surveys indicate that the real total is 10-12 percent higher.

Nationally, the immigrants constitute about 15 percent of the total work force (about 8 percent of the total population). But both those figures are misleading. As a pool of unskilled and semiskilled labor, the immigrants concentrate in cities and in productive areas of the economy. In greater Paris, for example, about 13 percent of the population is immigrant. In industry, about 20 percent of the national work force is immigrant; in the construction industry the figure is upwards of 30 percent.

The ethnic composition of the foreign population is difficult to determine. Much of the immigration is illegal and thus not easily susceptible to statistical analysis.

(Semilegal is probably a more nearly correct term. While it is officially against the law, clandestine immigration is generally ignored by the regime. This provides a broad range of benefits to all those concerned with accumulation of capital. Workers who are in the country illegally are far more vulnerable to victimization by the corporations that contract to bring them into France in the first place. Besides, an illegal traffic generates vibrant subsidiary industry. Smugglers,

slumlords, dope peddlers, confidence men, and similar elements who under less favorable conditions might swell the ranks of the unemployed are able to find work in their chosen professions, accumulate some initial capital, and take their places among respectable layers of society.)

The March 24 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde* reported the following ethnic breakdown of the immigrant population as of 1971: Algerian 754,462; Spanish 589,926; Italian 588,739; Moroccan 194,296; Polish 99,867; Portuguese 694,550; Tunisian 106,846; Yugoslavian 65,218. Not included (no explanation was offered) are immigrants from former French colonies in Black Africa, who may well total several hundred thousand.



The greatest increase in immigration comes from Portugal (in 1962, there were — officially — only about 70,000 Portuguese immigrants in France, about one-tenth the current figure), Algeria (about a 75 percent increase over 1962), Morocco, and Yugoslavia.

It is apparent, then, that the past decade has seen the growth of an immigrant population that is socially significant. Numerically, the weight of immigrant workers (taken as a whole) in French society is not qualitatively different from the weight of the Black population in the United States.

The economic advantages to the French ruling class are manifold. In contrast to their American class brothers, who have more experience in hypocritical rhetoric on such questions, the French capitalists seem willing to publicly boast about their exploitation of the "non-native" population. An article in the employers'

magazine *Usine Nouvelle*, for example, noted:

"The existence of this immigration gives our economy greater flexibility, since the immigrants are very mobile, are willing to switch factories or regions, and, if it becomes necessary, to become compensated unemployed. The immigration is still more advantageous in that it allows our country to defray a part of the costs of education and to better balance the budget. Because they are young, the immigrants often bear a heavier share of taxation than they receive in benefits."

The latter part of this statement is politely put. In fact, the immigrants receive almost nothing in the way of social benefits, and their "mobility" is enforced simply by denying them decent places to live, and even by clearing them out of the slums they are forced to occupy, whenever the vicissitudes of the real estate market call for such action.

The conditions the immigrants are forced to live in when they do find lodgings make the rate of diseases generally associated with the early days of the industrial revolution much higher than average. In some of the slums, composed of hovels with tarpaper or sheet-metal roofs, there is no running water, rats abound, and fire is a constant danger. In the Paris area, 39 percent of tuberculosis victims are immigrants. In some predominantly African areas, the tuberculosis rate reaches 15 to 23 percent on the average. In fact, France has a tuberculosis death-rate eight times higher than the Netherlands, the discrepancy being due largely to the immigrants. Among immigrant youth, the rate of hospitalization is three to six times higher than it is for French youth. Malnutrition and vitamin-deficiency diseases result in the hospitalization of large numbers of immigrant infants.

Fontanet-Marcellin Memorandum

Late in 1972, the French government intervened to bolster the already great "mobility" of the immigrant workers. The Fontanet-Marcellin memorandum was issued. Essentially, the system set up by the memorandum links entry papers to labor contracts. Instead of issuing the immigrants work permits, which allow them to look for work "freely"—that is, within the usual constraints of capitalist society—the regime will grant immigrants the right of residency only if they have a certificate from an individual employer.

The March 2 issue of *Rouge*, weekly newspaper of the Ligue Communiste, French section of the Fourth International, explained the effects of the Fontanet memorandum:

"It is the employer who furnishes

the immigrant proof of lodging [a necessity for labor contracts]. Thus, the employer can control all aspects of the immigrant worker's life—private life, trade union and political activities.

"Finally, the police department is the only authority empowered to distribute visas and work permits. The Fontanet-Marcellin memorandum thus gives the police full power to eliminate anybody they consider undesirable.

"In this way the big employers, like Citroën, Simca, etc., can impose a system of six-month rotation of the immigrant work force, aimed at always having a fresh work force, cheap and unable to organize. Thus, at Citroën, while the management refused to renew labor contracts to twenty Tunisian workers, at the same time it asked the National Immigration Office for permission to import 560 new immigrant workers! The twenty Tunisians were threatened with expulsion from the country."

The regime apparently believed it would have no trouble imposing the Fontanet-Marcellin memorandum, since the precarious position of the immigrant workers had in the past made them less than militant in opposing government manipulation. But this time, the immigrants fought back, through forms of struggle ranging from hunger strikes to factory occupations.

The March 30 *Rouge* quoted the statement of Antonio Silva, a Portuguese worker in the giant Renault-Billancourt plant, which has been in the center of the struggle against the memorandum:

"When you immigrate under a labor contract, you're not allowed to go on strike. Are there two kinds of workers? Ones that can go on strike and ones that can't? If the immigrant worker is made into a slave, the French worker will soon be one too. If you don't even have the simple right to change jobs, what right do you have? What remains of liberty, equality, and fraternity if men who work for a living are tied to one employer like a slave to his master?"

The first forms the immigrant workers' struggle against the Fontanet-Marcellin memorandum took were hunger strikes to demand that they be issued work permits as in the pre-memorandum days. Significantly, the struggles started before the legislative elections, in the midst of the campaign. The immigrants, like the high-schoolers, who also lack the right to vote, were thus the first two sectors to upset the electoral truce and to wage extraparlimentary fights that helped trigger the broader conflicts to come.

By the middle of February, actions against the Fontanet memorandum were under way in Toulouse, Strasbourg, Lyon, and Carpentras. In the latter city, the Communist party dem-

Continued on following page

'If the immigrant worker is made into a slave, the French worker will soon be one too'

Continued from preceding page

onstrated that its opposition to struggle in the preelection period was not restricted to the high-school movement.

The March 9 *Rouge* reported that after two Moroccan workers were assaulted, a protest demonstration was organized by the Association of Solidarity With Immigrant Workers. It was scheduled for February 24. Most of the left and far-left groups, and some unions besides, called for support to the demonstration. But on the morning of February 24, the CP's local newspaper, *La Marseillaise*, announced that CP members would not attend the action and urged the population to stay away. The people, said the CP, had to beware of government attempts to create provocations aimed at disrupting the elections by fomenting violence. In spite of the CP's scabbing, 250 people marched.

The CP soon began to find itself in a rather embarrassing position. The leadership had given partial support to the Fontanet memorandum, claiming it would help to reduce illegal immigration, which the CP sees as a threat to the French workers. But the struggle of the immigrants themselves continued to broaden and began to get support from the French workers.

The March 16 *Rouge* reported that hunger strikes by immigrant workers demanding work permits were going on in Valence, Mulhouse, Toulouse, Perpignan, and Aix. The March 23 issue reported that Nice and Lille had joined the cities involved. In some cases, the immigrants got enough support to force the government to back down and issue work permits, although government officials reiterated that the terms of the memorandum would be applied in the future. Toulouse and Lyon were two cities where this happened.

The struggle against the memorandum impelled the immigrant workers to take up other demands as well—specifically those relating to their positions on the job. The demand of equal pay for equal work with French workers was raised. Elementary rights of trade-union organization were also fought for. The April 13 issue of *Rouge* gave a roundup of the struggles initiated by the immigrant workers:

"At Girosteel, at Bourget, the immigrants fought for the rehiring of a fired worker, the end of all discrimination in hiring, the right of unionization, and across-the-board wage increases.

"At Pennaroya in Lyon, the immigrant workers, confronted with police and fascist violence, went on strike and occupied the factory.

"At Maillard and Duclos, in the Lyon construction industry, strikes hit thirteen work sites; some of them were occupied.

"During the so-called electoral truce, those who could not vote were in the forefront of the workers' struggles: at Brissoneau, at the SORMAE plant, at Zimmerfer, at Fos, at FASIBE, and in departments 34 and 38 at Renault."

The first wave of the immigrant workers' struggle reached a culmination on March 31, when about 3,000

immigrants demonstrated in Paris to demand abrogation of the Fontanet-Marcellin memorandum. The action was overshadowed by the huge demonstrations of hundreds of thousands of youth on March 22 and April 2, but it nevertheless represented a new willingness on the part of the immigrants to fight openly for their rights. On April 9, in the united trade-union and youth demonstration against the abolition of draft deferments and the militarization of youth, contingents of immigrant workers took part.

Communist Party Obstructionism

The Common Program of the Communist Party and Socialist Party in the legislative elections last March included several demands for constitutional and penal code reforms aimed at improving the legal position of the immigrants. But the Common Program said nothing about the political rights of the immigrants. It recommended that the right to vote be granted only to naturalized French

neighboring countries.

"The CP's nationalism, its narrowly legalistic outlook, leads it to defend the existing order in employment (democratically, of course). And when struggles by immigrant workers broke out, the CP generally withheld any real support or active solidarity (Girosteel, Pennaroya, Zimmerfer, for example)."

"As against the employers' attempts to divide the workers," *Rouge* continued, "we declare: French, immigrants, same employers, same fight! Equal pay for equal work! Equal rights for all!"

"But the immigrant workers are most often more exploited than the French workers. In order to impose this superexploitation on the immigrants, the bourgeoisie has set up a whole series of means of control and repression.

"So the immigrants have special demands on the political, social, and economic levels. But their demands must be supported by the entire working class; this is the only way to ensure their victory."



Immigrant workers' housing: 'There is no running water, rats abound, and fire is a constant danger.'

citizens, not to immigrants living and working in France but formally still citizens of their countries of origin!

"The French Communist party presents itself as the best defender of the national interest," wrote *Rouge* in its March 9 issue, "and this leads it logically to defend control over immigration (hence the CP's remarks about the positive aspects of the Fontanet memorandum last October). This is the same logic that leads it not only to defend, but to demand a strengthening of the powers of the National Immigration Office, which is really a service for recruiting slaves from

Rouge listed a series of demands. Among them were the following:

Freedom of immigration; Abolish the National Immigration Office; No limit on the amount of money immigrants can send back to their countries of origin; Abolition of work permits; Equal family allowance payments for immigrants; Right to elect and to be elected to any organ of workers defense; Right of equal professional training with French workers; Right to equal education at all levels; Serious application of existing laws against racism; Dissolution of racist organizations; No expulsions

of immigrants from their living quarters; Lift the bans on political and trade-union organizations of other countries; Complete freedom of the press for immigrants; Abolition of the minister of the interior's discretionary powers; Equal political rights for French and immigrant workers; Right to vote for all immigrants in France; Right of association, assembly, and political expression; Right of immigrants to return to their countries of origin at any time without paying any penalty and the right to return to France at will; Abolish the Fontanet memorandum and all laws discriminating against immigrant workers.

Triggering the Renault Strikes

At the end of March, the immigrant workers triggered what has become one of the most serious labor upsurges to occur in France in recent years. On March 21, some 373 OS (ouvriers spécialisés—semiskilled workers) in the stamping section of the giant Renault-Billancourt plant walked off the job. At least three-fourths of the OS are immigrant workers. They work in Department 12 of Renault-Billancourt, where they operate huge presses, performing the same set of motions 353 times an hour forty-three hours a week.

Within Department 12 there are three different pay scales—all for the same job. The OS demanded immediate wage increases, equal pay for equal work, and reclassification of all OS into a higher slot.

The third demand became the most crucial. Earlier, management had created a new classification, called PI F, short for *ouvriers professionnels de fabrications*. But only about a dozen of the OS had been advanced to that classification.

As the struggle developed, the state-run company agreed to grant the OS wage increases that would bring them close to PI F level, but refused to yield on the question of reclassification. The board of directors had clearly decided to hold the line on this point, recognizing that the entire system of stratification—of crucial importance in maintaining the superexploitation of the immigrant workers—was at stake.

The employers hoped that the wage increases would be enough to convince the OS to end their strike. The Communist party leadership of the CGT (Confédération Générale du Travail—General Confederation of Labor, the country's largest trade-union federation) bolstered the employers in this aim. Both the regime and the Stalinist bureaucrats failed.

The regime's tactics then shifted. "To avoid the development of an 'Italian-style' situation in which shop after shop walks out on strike," wrote Jean-Marie Dupont in the April 27 *Le Monde*, "management decided to force the laying off of thousands of workers, then to close two factories outright when the first signs of the spread of the OS strike appeared."

The resulting lockouts threw 7,000 workers out of work. Then, the strikes escalated and the company retaliated with more lockouts. By April 18, at Renault 40,000 workers were on

strike, and the strike movement had spread to the Peugeot plants as well.

During the last week in April, the situation in the auto industry was murky. In many factories, workers had returned to their jobs. But the issues were far from settled. The workers were demanding to be paid for the time they were locked out; the companies were resisting. More important, twenty-five OS at the Flins Renault plant had been fired for defending themselves against company-organized police violence. At the Billancourt plant, one OS was fired for allegedly damaging material during the strike.

The April 27 *Le Monde* reported that criminal charges would be filed against the Flins workers, an issue that could well provoke fresh walk-outs. The OS strikes and the broader strikes they triggered suffered from two great weaknesses—both due largely to the policies of the CGT leadership. The strikes remained lo-

cally isolated, the CP leaders deliberately playing one factory off against another. And the strike did not give rise to the democratically elected organizational forms that have characterized the current youth upsurge. While there were localized moves in the direction of forming strike committees and general assemblies, they did not become generalized. The workers paid in this way for the Stalinist hegemony that still exists in the labor movement although it has been pretty well demolished among the high-schoolers, university students, and technical-school students.

Nevertheless, the OS strikes marked a basic change in the consciousness of the semiskilled workers in general and more particularly in the consciousness of the immigrant workers.

The immigrant workers' new militancy will no doubt be reflected in the united May Day demonstration and in the general workers' struggles yet to come. □

...Chile

Continued from page WO4

"Form self-defense nuclei and an information system by means of loyal workers who infiltrate the peasant settlements and the estates that have been expropriated throughout the zone. Reinforcement nuclei will be set up in the towns together with a warning system involving the cooperation of civil servants in financial bodies. . . . Activists in the UP (FTR-MIR [Frente de Trabajadores Revolucionarios-Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria—Front of Revolutionary Workers-Movement of the Revolutionary Left]) will be identified, and they will be subjected to constant surveillance and possible psychological or physical intimidation."

● For neighbors:

"Fathers will instruct their children in detail about the meaning of totalitarianism, using oral and graphic examples of it throughout the world, and they will indicate to their children who the Marxist totalitarian agents are so that they can avoid physical contact with them and isolate them. . . . On a permanent basis they will make them read about or will call their attention to the daily brutality of Marxism, using a wide number of examples to teach them about the unsuitability of the dogma. . . .

"SACO section heads will get from their neighbors the location of cells and the meeting places for pro-UP businessmen, for the JAP [Juntas de Abastecimiento y Control de Precios—Supply and Price Control Boards], and for distributing rationed goods; the names and nicknames of militants and their movements, places of operation, etc. . . .

"Sustained campaigns involving psychological intimidation will be carried out, using slogans and propaganda aimed at UP militants, as well as rumors and scare stories aimed at UP women and their children; these will be furnished by SACO. . . . Follow a policy of ill will: Offer no transportation to UP people; give no aid to UP people; do not lend to, obtain from, speak to, compete with, or maintain friendly relations with UP people. . . . Boycott the directives of the UP Neighborhood Boards with perfectly organized groups whose aims are clear and precise."

As can be seen, fascism is formu-

lating its line of action with ever-increasing clarity. In its lexicon—in addition to the special meaning it gives to concepts like "democracy" (i.e., the international right) and "totalitarianism"—UP means the entire left and every individual worker, student, or squatter in the vanguard. "Unionists" are those who participated in the bosses' strike last October. The front page of the latest issue of *Patria y Libertad* carried the following headline: "Nationalism, Unionism, and Armed Forces: The Only Alternatives for Power."

The Christian Democracy bemoans the "irresponsibility of *Patria y Libertad*" and whiningly asks a few questions: "1) If the political process is blocked by the institutional deadlock, what are their feelings about continuing to adhere to democratic principles? 2) If the political process becomes blocked, do they propose straightforwardly a coup d'état against Allende? 3) Are they in a position to perform such a coup by themselves, or do they expect the armed forces to take part in it? 4) Do they believe, if they are in their right mind, that the armed forces would carry out a coup d'état in Chile? And if they do believe this, do they think that the armed forces would do it on behalf of their movement?"

This sniveling is not preventing the Christian Democracy's members from being polarized in the direction of *Patria y Libertad*, which they definitely feel is more "in its right mind" than Frei or Tomic.

Although the UP denounces certain attacks by *Patria y Libertad* on inhabitants of marginal shantytowns, its position is confusionist. The government secretary general, Aníbal Palma, for instance, denounced the attitude of squatters and workers participating in occupations as a plot by the MIR and *Patria y Libertad*. Statements of this kind confuse the people and can only work to the advantage of the fascist groups.

Only the strength of the organized workers, continuing their struggle without letting themselves be held back by vacillating and traitorous leaderships, can force fascism to retreat. The real accomplices of *Patria y Libertad* are not the workers who are mobilizing in defense of their interests. On the contrary, they are the worst enemy of fascism. The true accomplices are those who hold back and vilify this mobilization of the masses. □

World news notes

Rhodesian gov't releases journalist

On May 3 the white minority government of Prime Minister Ian Smith, bowing to widespread international protests, released journalist Peter Niesewand from prison, where he had been held in solitary confinement for seventy-one days.

Niesewand's release followed the overturn of his conviction for publishing secrets harmful to Rhodesia by an appeals court. He was presented with the choice of leaving the country or of staying in jail, and was put on a plane for London upon his release.

According to the May 4 *New York Times*, one of the conditions of Niesewand's release was that he not speak about his case.

Interview with South African prisoners

An Australian journalist has been allowed to interview two of South Africa's best-known political prisoners. Nelson Mandela and Dr. Neville Alexander were visited in the notorious Robben Island prison camp by David McNicoll, who described his tour of the prison in the April 22 issue of the *London Observer*.

Both Mandela and Alexander were sentenced in 1964. Mandela was deputy leader of the African National Congress (ANC). His arrest and sentencing to life imprisonment attracted worldwide attention, and even produced protests at the United Nations.

Alexander is an internationally renowned scholar who had taught at Tübingen University in West Germany. He and ten other non-white South Africans were arrested in 1963 and charged with "terrorism" even though no specific "terrorist" acts were named by the prosecution.

The eleven were convicted of organizing a "conspiracy" because they had met to discuss Marxist classics and, the prosecution charged, books on guerrilla warfare. Alexander drew the longest sentence, ten years in prison.

"Discipline," McNicoll writes, "is strict and punishment is very direct. It takes the form of demoting the privilege classification of a prisoner."

"Then there is solitary. This means removal of all books except the Bible, and no contact of any sort with other prisoners."

The prison administration attempts to keep the prisoners totally isolated from the outside world. Mandela told McNicoll: ". . . you must realise we get no papers, we have no radios, we are never allowed to read anything critical of the Government. All our magazines are censored. You will never believe it, but recently they gave me a *Reader's Digest*, and they'd censored 20 of the articles in it."

The authorities also follow a policy of trying to divide the prisoners against each other on racial lines. Prisoners' diets are determined not by their needs or state of health but by their race. For example, Colored and Indian prisoners are given bread with butter or ghee once a day, while Africans receive it only twice a week.

Alexander has nearly completed his sentence, but in the South African police state, this is no guarantee of release.

"Alexander gets out next year," McNicoll wrote, "but fears he will be restricted to house arrest, which will stop him resuming his teaching career (he speaks English, Afrikaans, German and his own Bantu tongue perfectly)."

'Bulletin of the Opposition' available

For twelve years, from 1929 to 1941, the *Byulleten Oppozitsii* (Bulletin of the Opposition) was the voice of the Trotskyist Left Opposition, and later of the Fourth International, in the Soviet Union. During its existence the *Bulletin* was forced by fascist and Stalinist persecution to change its place of publication five times. Members of its editorial board, including Trotsky's son, Leon Sedov, and Trotsky himself, were murdered; its contributors were thrown into concentration camps; its readers were jailed and persecuted.

Stalin's police apparatus was successful in destroying the Left Opposition in the Soviet Union, but his heirs are now striving to contain a new democratic opposition. The activists in the new Soviet opposition movement have never had the opportunity to read the ideas of Trotsky for themselves. But their struggle is part of the new worldwide radicalization, and the ideas of Trotskyism will find their way into the Soviet Union once again, just as they are gaining increasing influence throughout the rest of the world.

This process will be spurred by the publication of a complete facsimile edition of the *Bulletin* in the original Russian by Monad Press. The four-volume set can be ordered for \$160 from Pathfinder Press (the exclusive distributor of Monad Press books).

Mexican police kill four students

Four students at Puebla University in Mexico were killed, and at least seven others wounded May 1, when police there opened fire on a May Day demonstration. Students and faculty members at the university claim that police in an unmarked car started the shooting, and that the action was planned in advance.

Faculty members have demanded the resignation of the governor of the state, and the university rector charged that the police attack was "an act of direct provocation."

Right wing prepares for civil war

Fascist threat mounting in Chile

[Hugo Blanco, a Peruvian Trotskyist leader, was sentenced to twenty-five years in prison as a result of his work in organizing peasant unions in the early 1960s. He was released from prison in 1970, after serving eight years. In 1971 he was deported to Mexico because of his revolutionary activity. He is currently living in exile in Chile.]

By Hugo Blanco

Santiago

Along with the strengthening of the right wing inside the Unidad Popular government a strengthening of fascism is also occurring.

Of the two best-known organizations that represent fascism in Chile, Patria y Libertad [Fatherland and Freedom] and "Rolando Matus," it is the former that might have pretensions of being respectable.

Its full name is Frente Nacionalista Patria y Libertad [Nationalist Front for Fatherland and Freedom]. It was formed two years ago. Its founder and general secretary, Roberto Thiemé, died in an accident last February 23 while (in the words of his cothinkers) "carrying out a patrol in the province of Concepción." Another of its "heroes," Héctor Castillo Fuentealba, is honored as having been "murdered by a socialist activist in Chillán on December 20, 1972."

This group has a higher degree of organization, discipline, armed preparation, and determination than any other Chilean party, whether of the left or the right.

In spite of its small size, it has public headquarters (no one knows how many clandestine ones) and a newspaper, *Patria y Libertad*. Its "swastika" is a stylized spider.

It has already carried out many "actions," primarily against squatters in marginal areas, in cases where hoarding of goods had been uncovered, or when homeless persons have taken over unused land. In these cases, or when certain factories have been occupied, members of the group have functioned as shock troops for the capitalists. They also carried out a great deal of activity during the election campaign, storming the headquarters of left-wing parties or using firearms to attack propaganda teams of these parties. On such occasions, they were joined by members of other right-wing parties, such as the National party and the Christian Democracy.

Patria y Libertad feels that "there

is no political solution" for the present situation in Chile.

At the end of March it stated:

"With this second anniversary, we are holding the first national gathering of our leaders, with provincial heads from the entire country also in attendance. This will be the best opportunity for us to redouble our faith in nationalism and to prepare ourselves, with greater self-sacrifice than ever, for the great battle that awaits us in the immediate future. Every day brings the day of liberation closer. This is a day not to be waited for but to fight for. It will be we nationalists who will return dignity, freedom, and a future to our captive fatherland."

The gathering was dubbed the Ex-

kept secret—or (more likely) Patria y Libertad "leaked" it so that it would be given wide circulation.

The following are the main points of the "black commands," as they are now known:

- For professionals who work in the Social Sector of the economy (companies that have been taken over by the state):

- "Make a brief report on the firm's financing and the banks where money is deposited, as well as the persons in charge of the depositing, and to the extent possible on the firm's monthly financial status. . . . Draw up a list of stocks and supplies, and the names of the respective importers and the usual suppliers. . . . Draw up a list



Arms cache found at the headquarters of Patria y Libertad.

panded National Council. The main agreement reached was operation SACO [Sistema de Acción Cívica Organizada — System of Organized Civic Action]. The internal document explaining this operation could not be

of the kind of machines that are used, detailing the sources of energy, water, or fuel and the emergency electrical plants. . . .

- "Do not teach their technological methods or their codes. . . . Do not

report their experiments to the UP. . . . Do not train anyone in the UP. . . . Remove plans and manuals dealing with their projected and present operations and maintenance, and in cases where this is not possible, create chaos in the archives. If you are involved in planning, raise the margin of certainty for every estimate and quantity. . . . Call for the maximum possible number of accessories, and the minimum possible amount of information [memory]. . . . Increase the personnel involved in 'dead work,' administrative aides, day laborers, and service personnel, without rationalizing activities or mechanizing the work that is performed. . . ."

- For private contractors:

"Under legal pretexts, let the contracts of Marxist workers or employees lapse if they are constantly attempting to form cells that are preparing to take over the company. . . . Industrialists will have to win over their workers through *pledges* that involve small cost to the company. . . . Lunch, coffee break, etc., and small breakfasts for those who live furthest away. . . . Work shoes, vacation retreats, emergency funds, scholarships for children of the most outstanding workers, free time for going to school, help in paying for books and for enrolling to obtain training. . . .

"The industrialist will have to do business preferentially, and later exclusively, with the democratic clients included on the list provided by the coordination center. . . . In cases where state-run companies exert pressure to bring about sale of a product, payment in cash will be required, partial deliveries of the goods will be made, and increased prices will be charged. . . . The distribution of products will be entrusted only to democratic distributors; in case of state repression, only products of lower quality and in lesser quantity will be delivered to the social sector, and this will be done with delays and dragged-out negotiations over the matter. . . .

"In case of illegal take-overs of plants, the owner will notify the coordination center in advance of all details and the names and addresses of the leaders, etc., and the appropriate protective mechanism will be provided. . . ."

- For ranchers:

"Draw up a sketch with the location of the property and access roads, paths, crossings, and tracks that can be used as alternatives in blocking roads. . . . Lists of their own available means of transportation, or hired trucks capable of carrying freight (preferably with fully licensed drivers). . . . Reports on the type, frequency, and schedule of stations for overhauling and repairing the same. . . . Volunteers for organizing a system of signs and road patrols that can facilitate the moving of transport. . . . Attempts could be made to enlist the cooperation of private planes and ham radio operators in perfecting the system. . . .

"Produce basic foods—beans, lentils, chick-peas, potatoes, corn, etc.—in the best soil and in small plots that are not liable to be detected, but that produce a high yield and high quality. . . . Furnish SOCOAGRO [state distribution agency] with false reports on the yield per plot and the possibilities of the property. It will be necessary to give the impression of cooperating in order to obtain allowances and other credits, but the major part of what is produced will be delivered through SACO. . . .

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The Coming Confrontation

Where is Allende taking Chile? When the chips are down, where will the military stand? What are the organizations of the workers, peasants, and the left doing? What are their programs? What are the perspectives facing the Chilean people?

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Internal disputes surface at convention of Puerto Rican Independence Party

By MIRTHA VIDAL

PONCE, Puerto Rico—For several months the Puerto Rican Independence Party (PIP), the largest pro-independence party in Puerto Rico, has been in turmoil because of serious political disagreements. The dispute that began to surface between the official leadership of the PIP and a more radical layer of young activists and leaders of the party—the *terceristas* (third group)—came to a head at a special convention held here April 8 for the purpose of electing a new president.

The convention was called when Rubén Berrios, whose role as president of the PIP has come under increasing criticism, resigned from the party in March. Of the 1,404 delegates at the convention, 1,027 voted to reelect Berrios as president. Three hundred and forty-nine delegates supported the position of the *terceristas* by abstaining in the election.

The PIP was formed in the mid-1940s by the pro-independence wing of the Popular Democratic Party, the bourgeois party now in power. (Since the Spanish-American War at the turn of the century, Puerto Rico has been a U.S. colony. In 1953 Washington attempted to mask this oppression by designating the island colony the "Commonwealth of Puerto Rico.") For many years the PIP limited itself to running for public office.

In the late 1960s, with the resurgence of the struggle for independence and the growth of the student movement, the PIP adopted an action orientation. For example, in 1971 the PIP joined with the Pro-Independence Movement (MPI, later to become the Puerto Rican Socialist Party) in organizing a march of some 80,000 during the U.S. governors conference. This was the largest pro-independence demonstration ever held in Puerto Rico.

Berrios himself, who became president of the PIP in 1970, had been among a group of young Puerto Ricans jailed for refusing induction into the U.S. military service. Along with the MPI, the PIP mobilized support for strikes and for the tenant squatters movement, helped lead the struggle against the U.S. military using the

island of Culebra for target practice, and participated in student struggles. In 1971, the PIP came out for an independent and *socialist* Puerto Rico.

The influx of young people into the party led, in 1968-69, to the formation of student organizations in the high schools and universities—the Juventud Independentista Estudiantil (JIE) and the Juventud Independentista Universitaria (JIU)—both of which held their founding conventions in September 1972. The JIU and JIE play an important role in the

They pointed out that the expulsion took place "without consulting the ranks and without giving Colón Martínez a chance to appear at a trial in his defense."

Berrios claimed that the opposition sought to stage a "coup" to take over the leadership, making no differentiation between Colón's following and the *terceristas*. Berrios toured the island prior to the convention, accusing the youth—which is almost solidly behind the opposition—of being "communists."



Student groups associated with Puerto Rican Independence Party cosponsored demonstration of more than 3,000 April 11.

Puerto Rican student movement.

A PIP senator, Rubén Berrios, and two representatives were elected to the commonwealth legislature last November. Following the elections, the PIP leadership expelled its 1972 gubernatorial candidate, Noel Colón Martínez, on alleged violations of discipline, among them publicly criticizing the party.

Opposition to this move within the ranks led the leadership to later reverse this decision. The expulsion, however, led to the consolidation of the *terceristas*. They explained they were behind neither Berrios nor Colón but represented a third group that was critical of the "summary expulsion."

The *terceristas* called for abstaining on the election of a president on the grounds that the April 8 convention was not a solution to the deepgoing problems confronting the PIP. The convention, they said, would be merely a "vote of confidence" for Berrios, whose reelection without prior discussion was assured. They argued that the election of a president should be held off until after a convention to discuss the party's program and norms, scheduled for this summer.

A central demand of the *terceristas* is that once a program has been discussed and agreed upon, a democratic, "collective" leadership structure be established, as opposed to the current

one-man rule.

Many oppositionists agreed that at the root of these disagreements is an ideological debate. They agreed also that a series of "autocratic measures," of which Colón's expulsion was one example, are designed to stifle criticism and alienate from the rest of the party a militant sector that seeks to define the party's political line and organizational norms along clearly socialist lines.

One way this is being done, explained Luis Angel Torres, secretary general of the JIU and one of the two PIP representatives in the legislature, in a discussion with this reporter prior to the convention, is by denying the JIU adequate representation. Only 12 of the 1,404 delegates were representing the JIU. "JIU chapters are considered separate committees of the PIP, and we want representation in proportion to the work it carries out," he said.

Since the April 8 convention, meetings of the *terceristas* to discuss and plan the next steps toward the summer convention have taken place. *Terceeristas* this reporter spoke with see the need for a formal opposition tendency, organized around a program, to help draw out a clear political debate at the upcoming convention.

Claridad, the newspaper of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, carried postconvention statements from four leading PIP figures clarifying their positions. Norman Pietri, speaking for the *terceristas*, summarized the situation this way:

"The opposition to a party of chiefs is the left wing of the party. . . ." Berrios, who depended on the youth's support for his election to the presidency in 1970, Pietri continues, "now leans on the most conservative sectors of the party. That has to reflect itself in the party's politics. . . . The left wing of the PIP is basic to its development as a movement for national liberation."

"What we need now," he adds, "is a broad debate. . . . If the officialist leadership continues avoiding the political debate and attempting to repress us and get us out of the party, it is doing an irreparable harm to the PIP."

Reed met by overflow crowds in Australia

By NITA KELA

SYDNEY, Australia—Evelyn Reed, the prominent U.S. feminist and Marxist anthropologist, completed a two-week speaking tour of Australia April 23.

The tour was an enormous success, with capacity and overflow crowds at many meetings. Reed spoke on two topics—"The Women's Liberation Movement in the U.S. Today" and "Is Biology Woman's Destiny?" Almost 4,000 women and men attended her public meetings and university talks.

The tour got off to a lively start at Macquarie University in Sydney. Reed raised the hackles of several males who became irritated by her statement that in some primitive societies, women could lift heavier weights than men. In fact, some males were worried by the whole content of Reed's talk, which explained that women have not always been the second sex.

The nervous reaction by some males in the audience and the enthusiasm of much of the rest of the meeting showed how important the myth of women's biological inferiority has been in conditioning and oppressing women. Reed

explained that an understanding of women in early society could help women gain the confidence to struggle for their liberation today. Three hundred students, the majority of them women, attended the meeting.

Reed landed in Australia in the midst of a storm about abortion. Two Labor members of Federal Parliament had recently announced they intended to introduce a bill to liberalize the abortion laws, and reactionary forces were in the process of building a full-scale mobilization to prevent passage of the bill. As a result, the news media were particularly interested in interviewing a feminist from the U.S., where the recent Supreme Court victory of the abortion rights movement has inspired Australian women.

Sections of the news media were so worried by some of Reed's ideas that in one instance they called in another woman "expert" to counter her. Describing the type of child-care centers needed for young children, Reed likened them to "infant universities." Two days later, Dr. Claire Ibister, a reactionary who opposes (among other things) young unmarried women having the right to keep their children,

said Reed's suggestion would be very "dangerous."

But the 500 women and men attending Reed's main public meeting in Sydney, and the 600 who came to hear her at the University of New South Wales, showed that such "experts" cannot explain the problems of women.

The news coverage became more intense as Reed's tour progressed. Television, radio, and newspapers all wanted to interview the person one news editor had dubbed "The Granny of Women's Liberation." Reed pointed out that in spite of the intentions of this phrase, it did have a certain validity: for years she had lectured on what was known as "The Woman Question." However, only in the last five or six years have people wanted to listen, and the topic has now changed to "Women's Liberation." It is no longer a "question" but is now a struggle with a clear objective.

In Melbourne, 500 people came to Assembly Hall to hear Reed speak on "Is Biology Woman's Destiny?" and 600 heard her at Melbourne University on "The Women's Liberation

Movement in the U.S. Today." Reed then returned to Sydney, where she spoke at the opening rally of the Socialist Youth Alliance's fourth national conference. SYA cosponsored Reed's tour with the Socialist Workers League, an Australian organization that supports the Fourth International.

Before returning to the U.S., Reed will tour New Zealand and Japan, where the women's liberation movement is also beginning to have a big impact.



Evelyn Reed

Militant/Flax Hermes

Refugee camps are shelled

Lebanese army attacks Palestinians

From Intercontinental Press

"For those who are hinting at a Black May in Lebanon," President Suleiman Franjeh declared May 4, "we tell them that our wish is that the month of May—and the rest of the year—be months of roses and flowers not only for the Lebanese, but for all."

As is usually the case when rulers of capitalist states resort to horticultural imagery and mixed metaphor, the speaker was being more tactful than honest—unless Franjeh was referring to funeral wreaths. His statement came after two days of heavy fighting between government troops and Palestinian fedayeen—the worst such fighting since April 1969.

Later that afternoon, after dozens had been killed and hundreds wounded, a cease-fire came into effect. It lasted until the night of May 7, when government forces opened up with cannon, rockets, and automatic weapons on two large Palestinian camps just south of Beirut. The same night, Premier Amin el-Hafez declared martial law throughout the country.

Exactly how the fighting broke out remains obscure. On April 27 three persons were arrested at the Beirut airport after customs officials reportedly found dynamite hidden in their baggage. On May 1, four fedayeen were arrested near the U.S. embassy, after weapons, explosives, and a radio transmitter were found in their car. Also on May 1, five members of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine were arrested—the circumstances are not clear.

On the night of May 1 a Lebanese army sergeant and a corporal were kidnapped. The *New York Times* and *Le Monde* reported that the Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, the group headed by Nayef Hawatmeh, had claimed responsibility for the kidnapping and was said to have offered to exchange the hostages for some of the arrested fedayeen. (It was not clear which fedayeen; *Le Monde* said it was the group arrested

near the U.S. embassy.)

The regime declined the offer. Instead, tanks were moved toward the two Palestinian refugee camps in Beirut that were assumed to be possible headquarters for the kidnappers. The government demanded that the two noncoms be turned loose by 11:00 a.m. May 2.

"Ten minutes after the expiration of the deadline," Edward Saab wrote in the May 4 *Le Monde*, "the inhabitants of the capital were jolted by the crack of machine-gun fire, followed by violent explosions."

An official communiqué later claimed that the fighting had not been started by the army, but had broken out after fedayeen attacked three army barracks and roadblocks set up outside the Palestinian camps. This is almost certainly not true. It is difficult to see what the fedayeen could have had to gain by opening fire on the army while they were still holding hostages that they wanted to barter for political prisoners. It is even more difficult to see why the Palestinians, who had maintained complete

calm overnight, should have acted so obligingly on the army's ultimatum.

As soon as fighting erupted, government tanks opened up on the Shatila refugee camp (where 5,000 Palestinians live) with .50-caliber machine guns. The fedayeen resisted the attack, and fighting soon spread to the Burj el-Barajneh camp.

The battles went on for several hours. Late in the afternoon, the fedayeen turned over the two kidnapped Lebanese soldiers to Kemal Jumblatt, a pro-Palestinian member of the Lebanese parliament. But the army continued to attack. Although still concentrated around the two Palestinian camps in the south suburbs of Beirut, the fighting spread into downtown areas, where fedayeen sniper attacks on the army were reported.

In the early evening, the government imposed a round-the-clock curfew, effective at 7:30 p.m. and extending indefinitely. By late evening, the battles had tapered off. The streets of the city were deserted. The government announced that twelve soldiers had been killed; Palestinian sources

reported that fifty-three fedayeen and thirty-two civilian refugees had been killed.

As the fighting ended, Yassir Arafat, chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization, held a meeting in the Makassed Hospital with Premier Amin el-Hafez and three government ministers. At the end of the meeting a cease-fire was announced.

But the army refused to lift its siege of the Palestinian camps, and in the morning, May 3, fighting broke out again. The Dibayeh refugee camp north of Beirut was bombarded by at least 100 cannon rounds by government tanks. Rockets were fired into the Tel Zattar camp, also north of Beirut.

At the Burj el-Barajneh camp south of the city, the government used jet fighters against the refugees. The May 5 *Christian Science Monitor* reported that Hawker-Hunter planes made "12 passes to deliver cannon fire, rockets, and finally eight bombs on guerrillas who had moved forward from their camp area close to Beirut airport. The bombing and cannon and rocket fire raised casualties among the Palestinians into the hundreds."

Fighting was also reported in the Arkoub region of southern Lebanon and along the Syrian border in the east.

After fighting had gone on for several hours on May 4, Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat dispatched Hassan Sabry el-Kholy, one of his advisers, to Beirut to participate in new negotiations between the government and the Arafat leadership.

Late May 4, the second cease-fire was arranged. This time, it lasted three days. By the afternoon of May 5, only sporadic clashes between the Palestinians and the army were taking place. As of May 6 Franjeh and Arafat were still holding discussions on an overall agreement that would entail lifting the government siege of the refugee camps.



Lebanese government used tanks against Palestinian refugee camps

Pickets protest anti-Black stand

Shanker gets cold shoulder in Chicago

By BOB KISSINGER

CHICAGO, May 3—"Hoodlums" and "hatemongers." This is how United Federation of Teachers President Albert Shanker describes the parents and community activists who fought for Black and Puerto Rican control of the schools in Ocean Hill-Brownsville in New York in 1968. Shanker made the charges while speaking to 500 teachers today at the Chicago Teachers Union house of delegates.

Shanker was originally scheduled to address the Chicago Teachers Union annual education conference. But the invitation to him aroused such a storm of controversy that the CTU executive board was forced to cancel the meeting on April 30, only four days before it was scheduled to take place. At issue was Shanker's racist record in opposing the right of Blacks and Puerto Ricans to control the schools in their communities.

The invitation to Shanker resulted in the withdrawal from the conference of Professor Earl Durham of the School of Social Service Administration at the University of Chicago, and of Dr. Arnita Boswell, president of the League of Black Women. At least nine other prominent Black and white educators and community leaders refused to participate in the conference unless

the invitation to Shanker was withdrawn.

Among those who protested the Shanker invitation were Tommy Briscoe, director of legislation and organization for the American Postal Workers Union; Charles Hayes, vice-president of the Illinois AFL-CIO and president of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists; and Christine Johnson, president of the African-American Heritage Association.

The *Daily Defender*, a Black newspaper in Chicago, recalled that Shanker "is the man who led the white teachers in New York on an indefensible strike against the Black community." It pointed out that Shanker's policies could only hurt the Teachers Union by driving a wedge between the teachers and the Black community.

"It was a coalition of Black trade unionists and perceptive, alert teachers that forged the unity that finally won the Chicago teachers' strike," the *Defender* explained. In that strike, earlier this year, the Chicago teachers made important strides in developing community support for their demands.

But Shanker would have none of this. While teachers and other trade unionists and community groups picketed and leafleted outside, Shanker claimed that his opponents "don't

know who the enemy is." He attributed the opposition to his appearance to "a small group of radicals," despite the fact that his views were challenged by many teachers in the question period.

The row over the Shanker invitation was also tied in with the struggle brewing inside the American Federation of Teachers between Shanker and AFT President David Selden.

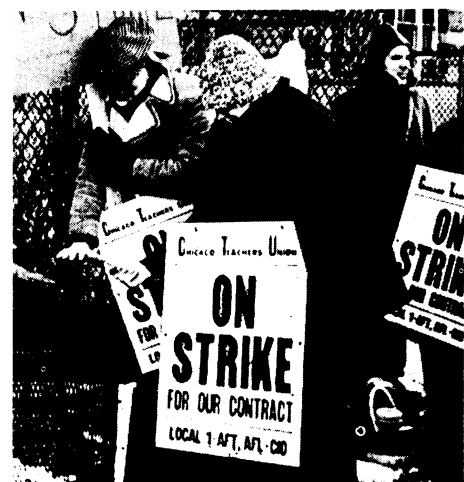
Shanker's complaint at the Chicago meeting was the same one with which he answered an attack on him by Selden that appeared in the March 30 *New York Post*. When Selden accused him of trying to take over the AFT and of being "a Meany organization man" who "backs Meany on virtually everything," Shanker replied that "the problem with Dave is that he doesn't know who the enemy is."

Shanker favored AFL-CIO President George Meany's policies of "neutrality" on Nixon's side in the 1972 elections and of support to the Vietnam war. Selden opposed both, supporting McGovern in the elections.

At an April 11 meeting of the AFT executive council Shanker moved for Selden's resignation. This and a censure motion failed, but the council did repudiate Selden's public criticism of Shanker. Furthermore, it endorsed several referendums now before the

AFT membership calling for changes in the AFT constitution that would shift a greater share of power to the larger locals.

Shanker's UFT recently merged with the New York State Teachers Association to form the New York State United Teachers. On May 1 the United Teachers officially became a part of the AFT. It has just under 200,000 members, accounting for about half of the total membership of the AFT. Shanker will be the big beneficiary if the referendums now before the AFT membership are approved.



Chicago teachers on strike earlier this year.

Community protests rigging of N.Y. school board election; results challenged in court

By EILEEN WELLS

NEW YORK, May 8—José Luis Rodríguez, an assistant principal in one of the Lower East Side's public schools, was angry. "The children come up to me and ask, 'Mr. Rodríguez, why can't my parents vote?' What can I tell them? . . . This is not a democracy. . . ."

Rodríguez was one of 59 individuals, including many poll watchers, who testified at a public hearing here May 8, detailing massive vote fraud in the May 1 school board elections.

The pro-community-control slate backed by the Coalition for Education polled 5,113 of a total of 12,596 valid votes in that election—40.3 percent. It elected Georgina Hoggard, Lyle Brown, and Henry Ramos. But the other six seats on the board were taken by members of the slate backed by the United Federation of Teachers (UFT).

The new school board is scheduled to take office July 1, unless legal action to invalidate the election results is successful. The pro-UFT slate has vowed to remove Luis Fuentes, District 1 superintendent, as its first order of business.



Luis Fuentes

Militant/Mark Satinoff

On May 3, supporters of the community slate and Fuentes held a picket line at the site where the District 1 ballots were being counted to protest the way the elections had been conducted.

The pickets were joined by two classes of junior high students who spontaneously walked out of their school when they heard the chants of the pickets. Nearly 300 supporters took part. The pickets then moved to the board of election headquarters, where 75 militant activists called for new elections and chanted that the elections were a fraud.

More than 400 community residents attended the May 8 hearings on the elections. The crowd was so large that many who wished to testify about vote fraud they had personally witnessed did not get a chance to do so. More than 200 of those unable to testify furnished signed statements telling how they were harassed, intimidated, and illegally turned away at the polls by anti-Fuentes city officials.

Their testimony gave overwhelming support to the charge that Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese residents of the community were systematically denied their right to vote.

As speaker after speaker described the chaotic situation at the polls, the hearing officers sat in silence, occasionally asking a question, but for the most part allowing the community residents to make their own case.

Alice Cardona, representing ASPIRA, a Puerto Rican community organization, described the systematic disenfranchisement of Puerto Rican voters.

Helen Weinstein, a supporter of the Coalition for Education, described her shock at discovering that the assistant attorney general supervising the polls at PS 134 had sworn in the local head of the Jewish Defense League for the day. According to her, the JDL leader was sending nearly every



Militant/Arthur Hughes

Georgina Hoggard, one of the three candidates on the pro-Fuentes slate reelected to the school board, addressing rally outside of JHS 71 on May 3.

Puerto Rican downtown to the board of elections headquarters to get a court order before they could vote.

A court order, obtained by the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL) and the Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund, had required that translators be made available to assist Spanish- and Chinese-speaking voters. Elena Díaz, an official Spanish translator, testified that when she arrived at her polling place at PS 110 she was told she was not needed. When she insisted on remaining at the polling place, she was then stopped by elections inspectors repeatedly and told she was not supposed to talk to anyone in Spanish!

Catherine Carlotti testified that each voter at PS 34 was asked to produce identification before voting, and that dozens were turned away because they had none. She also testified that voters were turned away because their names were not on computer lists being used to identify eligible voters, even though they had cards from the board of elections showing they were registered.

Luis Fuentes, District 1 superintendent, who has been at the center of the controversy over community control, also testified. He estimated that 1,000 persons were denied their right to vote, predominantly Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and Chinese residents.

Although the UFT leadership was invited to testify, none did so. But teachers supporting the community slate did come forward with testimony. Tom McCabe gave testimony that after he showed his UFT card to the inspectors and they assumed he was backing the UFT slate, he was witness to countless instances of electioneering and other irregularities inside his polling place. Many witnesses testified they found cards showing how to vote for the UFT slate inside the voting booths. Others testified there were no voting booths!

Perhaps the most striking testimony came from Minnie Fisher, an older white resident, who described how her election inspector told her in Yiddish how to vote—for the UFT slate. "Is

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Election day in N.Y. District One

By DEBBY WOODROOFE

Joyce Brockstedt, a white parent from PS 15, spent the day at the Coalition for Education office May 1, taking affidavits from District 1 voters who were turned away from the polls. Pointing to the pile of more than 100 complaints in front of her, she termed the school board elections "a mockery of our right to vote."

Brockstedt estimated that one out of every four District 1 residents who went to vote was turned away—most of them Spanish-speaking. She ran down some of the most frequent complaints—names of those who had voted in dozens of elections suddenly missing from computer printouts, students told they could not vote if they weren't parents, polling sites that did not open, demands made of parents to furnish identification such as credit cards, and people denied the right to vote even when they returned with a court order.

She pointed out that most people subjected to this harassment most likely gave up after the first rebuff, and that thousands with complaints will never make them known for fear of being taken off welfare, for example.

Brockstedt places the blame for the day's travesty of justice on the UFT. "They are trying to disrupt our community. They don't give a damn about what happens to us down here. They don't live here; they're trespassers. The teachers are against commu-

nity control because they don't want to update themselves or learn our languages. We can't afford to put our kids in private schools like they do, but that doesn't mean our kids aren't as good as theirs."

Shortly before 9 p.m., when the polls closed, District 1 activists began to crowd into the Coalition for Education office to await reports from the Coalition's poll watchers and find out how many people had voted. A Puerto Rican student stood looking at a campaign poster printed by the UFT-endorsed "Committee for Effective Education" that was on the wall. An "In" had been inserted before "Effective," and it looked like dozens of people had taken a turn marking up the candidates' faces and program.

He pointed to the hypocrisy of the "Stop Racism!" slogan that appeared on top of the poster, in light of the racial composition of the slate—eight whites and one Black. The students in District 1 are 73 percent Puerto Rican, 15 percent Black, and 6 percent Chinese.

As the poll watchers began to return to the office with their reports, it became clear that it was unlikely all members of the present board had been reelected. This was due both to the harassment Spanish-speaking parents met at the polls and the large numbers of voters turned out by supporters of the UFT-backed slate in their campaign to "stop violence" in

the schools.

Candidate Henry Ramos reported that voting along Grand Street, a white area where the UFT-slate draws much of its support, was twice as heavy as it had been in the 1970 school board election. He estimated 6,000 votes were cast for that slate. He also stated that in PS 110, where again most voters are white, a total of 396 ballots were cast, compared with 450 in the 1972 presidential election.

As campaigners began to discuss among themselves the ramifications of no longer having a school board in which the majority supported community control, Tito, a Puerto Rican parent, circulated from group to group. He pointed out, "Maybe we didn't win, but we still have the people. We're not defeated."

He told me that before the current board came to power, the schools were virtually closed to parents. If you wanted to see the principal, you had to be escorted to the office by the police. "I never was involved in my kid's education until this board opened up the doors. I'm used to being involved now, and if the UFT wants me out, they'll have to throw me out."

Two of the candidates, Georgina Hoggard and Henry Ramos, returned to the office to talk to their supporters. "The election was today; the campaign starts tomorrow," Hoggard said, re-

ferring to the struggle that lies ahead if the UFT-backed candidates win a majority on the board.

Hoggard recalled that in 1970, when she was elected to the board as a UFT supporter (she later changed her position), not nearly so many Lower East Side parents were involved in the fight for community control. Yet board members still had to sneak out of their meetings through back doors. "Now there are hundreds involved." "It's an empty victory for them," another woman added. "What have they won but a lot of trouble?"

By 10 p.m., there was no more room in the Coalition office, and supporters had overflowed into the streets. The three candidates who were there—Hoggard, Ramos, and Pedro Cordero—climbed up on chairs to address their campaigners.

Ramos was first. "Back to the streets," he began. As he spoke, first in Spanish, then in English, people threw shredded palm cards into the air. He continued. "What has happened in the last few weeks was only a training session, and now our job begins. We've learned from this experience. We have the people with us. And we'll all be in the streets if they try to fire our superintendent."

Hoggard followed. "I don't care how many votes we got. We're not going to let them take our schools away from us."

SOCIALISTS & THE FIGHT AGAINST ANTI-SEMITISM IN THE '30s

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY FOUGHT TO 'OPEN THE DOORS' TO VICTIMS OF NAZI TERROR

By PETER SEIDMAN

In previous articles we have shown how and why leaders of Zionist and most Jewish organizations in the U. S. raised no significant protests against the policies of the Roosevelt administration that left hundreds of thousands of refugees, Jews and others, to die at the hands of the fascist anti-Semites in Europe beginning in the 1930s.

It is ironic that today leaders of these very same Jewish organizations, like the B'nai B'rith, are attacking the Socialist Workers Party for being "anti-Semitic." For in contrast to the policies of the B'nai B'rith during the worst campaign of genocidal terror against Jews in the history of the world, the Socialist Workers Party did not stand idly by, but rather engaged, with others, in a struggle to force Washington to admit the refugees.

Furthermore, the SWP saw that the fight to admit the refugees was a crucial component of the broader fight against a growing fascist and anti-Semitic movement that developed in the U. S. during the 1930s.

The SWP disagreed with the view put forward by most Jewish and Zionist leaders that Jews should rely on the "democratic system" and "liberal values" represented by the Roosevelt administration as a shield against anti-Semitism. It also argued against the idea that the creation of an exclusive Jewish state in Palestine represented any real protection for Jews from the anti-Semitic terror sweeping Europe.

The SWP explained, in contrast to the ideas put forward by most of the Jewish and Zionist organizations, that Roosevelt and the capitalist government he headed were not at all allies of the Jews in any fight against anti-Semitism.

In fact, the Roosevelt administration was a hotbed of anti-Semitic officials and actions. Despite Roosevelt's carefully cultivated reputation as a friend and benefactor of the Jews, he placed the handling of all problems relating to the refugees from Nazi terror in Europe in the hands of bigots who could safely be relied upon not to take any meaningful action to save the European Jews.

For example, Breckinridge Long, the man Roosevelt appointed as assistant secretary of state for refugee problems, was an early admirer of fascist Italy, where he had served as an ambassador.

In 1933, Long had sent a letter to

Roosevelt containing this favorable description of conditions under Mussolini: "Many men are in uniform. The Fascisti in their black shirts are apparent in every community. They are dapper and well dressed and stand up straight and lend an atmosphere of individuality and importance to their surroundings . . . The trains are punctual, well-equipped and fast . . ."

In 1941, Long wrote in his diary of his approval of the then U. S. ambassador to the Soviet Union Laurence Steinhardt's clear cut opposition to "immigration in large numbers from Russia and Poland of the Eastern Europeans whom he characterizes as entirely unfit to become citizens of this country. He says they are lawless, scheming, defiant—and in many ways unassimilable. He said the general type of intending immigrant was just the same as the criminal Jews who crowd our police court dockets in New York and with whom he is acquainted. . . . I think he is right—not as regards the Russian and Polish Jew alone, but the lower level of all that Slav population of Eastern Europe and Western Asia."

Myron Taylor, a former president of the U. S. Steel Corporation who played a key role in the Roosevelt administration's refugee work, had two pictures on the wall of his office: one was of Roosevelt, the other of Mussolini.

So much for the "friends and benefactors" of the Jewish refugees!

The Roosevelt administration, despite the bigotry of its officials and the criminal nature of its refugee policies, was not, of course, a fascist government. In Germany, because of its weaker economic position internationally, the ruling class had been forced to crush the radicalization of the workers under the blows of fascism. But U. S. capitalism had responded to the radicalization with a series of concessions and reforms.

These reforms helped avert the threat of revolution by maintaining the workers' illusions in "the democratic system" and its "liberal values," despite the terrible unemployment and brutal attacks on union organizing drives of the 1930s.

These illusions allowed the capitalists to cloak the realities of their rule, the brutality of which was so readily apparent in the naked dictatorship of the German and Italian fascist states. Hence, the New Deal provided a more economical form of government for the capitalist rulers of the U. S. than the costly police state of their German

counterparts.

In order to maintain the illusions of the working masses in Roosevelt, the cooperation of the trade-union bureaucracy, the leaders of the Communist and Socialist parties, and of the major Jewish and Zionist organizations was necessary. By following an active policy of collaboration with Roosevelt, these misleaders prevented their followers from carrying out any meaningful struggle against unemployment, for trade unions, or against anti-Semitism.



This did not mean that no fascist threat existed in the U. S. during the 1930s. The social crisis in the U. S., as in Germany, had created the conditions out of which, as in Germany, layers of the middle classes and demoralized workers could be organized into fascist groups. Father Coughlin's Social Justice Movement, the Silver Shirts of William Dudley Pelley, and the German-American Bund of Fritz Kuhn were examples of these kinds of organizations.

Unlike in Germany, no section of the U. S. ruling class stood solidly behind any of these fascist movements. This did not mean, however, that at some later time the capitalists might not have turned to active backing of these groups.

In sharp contrast to the policies of many Zionist and Jewish leaders of the time, the SWP understood that quiet apologetics for an uncritical reliance on the New Deal was no defense against the fascist danger in the U. S. Also, the SWP understood that the fight against fascism at home was clearly linked to the fight for the rights of asylum for victims of fascism in Europe. This strategy was clearly spelled out in an editorial entitled

"Open the Doors!" that appeared in the Oct. 29, 1938, *Socialist Appeal*, a predecessor to *The Militant*.

"The only real answer to the barbarism practised by the reactionary capitalists in the name of national culture, is the mobilization of working class forces on the basis of international solidarity against all class and national oppression. In the performance of this duty of organizing practical aid for the disinherited and mistreated victims of fascist reaction, the working class forges unbreakable international links in the chain of its struggle to pull civilization out of the mire.

"The American proletariat must unite to help the refugees so that in this very process they may prevent the same thing from taking place in their own country. By making their power felt in warding off the blows of reaction delivered against the oppressed of other countries, the American workers at the same time mobilize their strength to defeat similar attempts at oppression at home.

" . . . the American workers, including the Jewish workers, can perform a far more useful service to the refugees, including the Jews, by making forceful demands not on the British government [to admit the refugees to Palestine] which need not and will not pay the slightest attention, but on 'their own' government. We must demand the open door for refugees not merely in far-away Palestine, but here at home in the United States. Why has not Roosevelt attempted to have the quota law completely abolished—or even revised upwards? This would be really practical aid to the refugees. It would be an excellent way to combat anti-Semitism because it would mean an educational campaign against race prejudice conducted in the ranks of the working class.

"Organize the masses around this demand for the open door and this demand will make itself felt! For the abolition of the quota law and for the reestablishment of the United States as a haven for political refugees! This is the only real democracy—the fight for the Open Door for all refugees!"

Following the "Night of Broken Glass" pogrom in Germany, the *Socialist Appeal* of Nov. 19, 1938, carried this front page statement by the national committee of the SWP:

" . . . Workers! "Solidarity with those who suffer at the hands of fascism is one of the best ways of establishing, in this country, an unbreakable wall against the advance of American Fascism.

"Unite! Join hands! "Show the Hitlerite assassins and pogromists the real position of American labor by your protest meetings! "Show them that the American working class means it seriously when it says that it detests Anti-Semitism and the Anti-Semites like the plague!

"Show the victims of the Fascist terror that you mean it seriously, by stretching out to them the hands of fraternal solidarity, by demanding of the American government the free and unrestricted right of asylum for the Jewish scapegoats of Fascist barbarism!"

How the SWP translated this analysis into actions aimed at winning practical relief for the victims of fascism in Europe and at fighting fascism here in the U. S. will be the subject of the next, and final article in this series.

Socialist Appeal

Official Weekly Organ of the Socialist Workers Party, National Office, 100 West 17th St., New York, N.Y.

'LET US IN OR WE PERISH!'

The Main Enemy In Latin America

The "Democratic Front" In Latin America

FRANCE IS MAIN ARMS OF COMING EVENTS ABROAD

300,000 Refugees Demand Entry Here; Storm Consulates

Victims of Nazi Persecution Plead for Asylum in U.S.

Plenary Session of N. C. Adopts Program of Action

Party To Be Gained To New Tempo

Socialist Appeal

Official Weekly Organ of the Socialist Workers Party, National Office, 100 West 17th St., New York, N.Y.

ENOUGH PIOUS TEARS: ADMIT THE REFUGEES!

CIO CONVENTION RUBBER STAMPS LEWIS MACHINE

Empty Talk Fills Air As Pogrom Goes On

Minn. Labor Demands Open Door for Refugees

Hypocritical Plans For Haven In Remote Colonies Offer No Real Possibility Of Relief For Victims Of Hitler

Socialist Appeal

Official Weekly Organ of the Socialist Workers Party, National Office, 100 West 17th St., New York, N.Y.

Anti-Semitic Pogroms Are By-Product of Capitalism

Stem From Same Roots As NEW YORK PARTY AROUSES MASSES THE CASE OF GRYSZPAN NAZI CONSULATE

Lynchings of Negroes Here ON ASYLUM ISSUE

Workers Respond To Vigorous Drive By Locals

An African "Homeland" For the Jewish Refugees?

New "Frontier" For Forward by World Imperious Fall of Palestine—Only Solution Is "Open Doors" Right Here

Socialist Appeal

Official Weekly Organ of the Socialist Workers Party, National Office, 100 West 17th St., New York, N.Y.

FASCISM MENACES FRANCE

Demand That U.S. Congress Open the Doors to Refugees

Strike of Two Million Shows Workers Ready to Fight; Leaders Fear Showdown

Can't Urge Party To Speed Appeal Campaign

PEOPLE DRIVE ON PARTY CALLS FOR SIGNATURES

WHO OPPOSES THE OPEN DOOR?

WORKERS' POWER IS ONLY ROAD

Chicanos march for equal education

By JIM BURFEIND

AUSTIN, May 2—Three thousand Chicano high school students and their parents marched to the state capitol today loudly chanting: "Chicano Power! Equal education is a right!" Most of the participants came from the Edgewood school district in San Antonio to demand that funding for school districts in Texas be equalized to end discrimination against Chicano school districts. The march and rally were organized by the People's Lobby for Equal Education (PLEE).

Various Chicano Democrats and Democratic state leaders, including Texas Governor Dolph Briscoe, addressed the official part of the rally. Their promises to do something about the situation were met with chants of "Action now!" and "We want Ramsey!" (referring to Ramsey Muñiz, the Raza Unida Party candidate for governor in 1972). Briscoe was repeatedly and loudly booed.

Demetrio Rodríguez, plaintiff in the recent Supreme Court ruling on school funding in Texas, and other participants in the case explained their suit and said that the demonstrators were there to continue the fight started five years earlier to have school funding in Texas equalized.

In Texas, school money comes from county property taxes. Poor counties necessarily have lower quality schools than rich counties. State funds are distributed in proportion to the amount of local money spent. This intensifies the inequality.

The Raza Unida Party repeatedly tried to have a speaker address the rally. Finally, Noe Gonzales, a superintendent of schools in Crystal City, was allowed to speak.

Gonzales pointed out that the various promises made earlier by the Democrats couldn't be trusted and were insufficient to solve the problems anyway. He said, "In Texas, \$3-million is spent to kill fireflies while only \$2.1-million is spent on bilingual education." He asked, to the cheers of the crowd, "When is the Democratic Party going to appropriate enough funds to stop killing Chicanos educationally in Texas?"

As Gonzales finished, the chants began again: "Viva La Raza! We want Ramsey!" Former Democratic State Senator Joe Bernal, who was chairing the rally, quickly said that the rally was over and that buses would be leaving in 10 minutes. Muñiz then walked to the abandoned speakers stand and began talking to the crowd.

Muñiz said, "Chicano Democrats, we are going to be on your backs every day! We want our rights now!" In the middle of his speech, the sound was cut off and he was forced to continue with a bullhorn.

Mario Compean, state chairman of La Raza Unida Party, spoke briefly after Muñiz. In an interview after he spoke, Muñiz said he wanted *Militant* readers to know that once again, the rally had been a case of "the oppressor talking to the oppressed rather than the oppressed talking to the oppressor." He warned against inadequate compromises and another "whitewash."

CUNY students protest cutbacks

By MARILYN MARKUS

NEW YORK—On Wednesday, May 2, 30 students from City College of New York took over the administration building on campus in protest of the financial aid cutbacks and possible imposition of tuition throughout the City University of New York (CUNY) system.

This demonstration was part of the struggle by CUNY students against a series of recommendations from the Rockefeller-appointed Keppel Commission.

The Keppel Commission proposes to: impose a \$650 tuition fee on first and second year students and a \$1,000 fee on third and fourth year students; guarantee only two years of post-secondary education for New York youth; set a maximum of \$1,710 on financial aid to any student; and force students to rely more on loans, part-time jobs, or family support for funds to live on while they are attending school.

The Keppel Commission proposals would severely curtail the right of New York City residents, particularly Black and Puerto Rican youth, to a college education.

The protesters demanded that college President Marshak sign a statement that he will not collect tuition if it is imposed. In addition, they demanded:

- 1) that "true" open admissions be implemented, with the classes of CUNY reflecting the percentage of Third World students in the public high schools of New York.

- 2) that no cutbacks be made in special programs such as SEEK, College Discovery, College Work-Study, and Financial Aid.

- 3) that pay for student workers on campus be raised from \$1.85 an hour to \$3 an hour.

- 4) that open admissions and all special programs be expanded.

After the sit-in had begun, another demand was added: that no reprisals be taken against students who participated in the action.

The take-over, organized by the Third World CUNY Coalition, lasted about 30 hours. A steady picket line was formed outside the administration building to show support for the demands of the protesters. Hundreds of students participated in the picket line and nearly 1,000 marched around the campus in a militant support demonstration.

The college administration was reluctant to forcibly remove the students from the building. An administration representative read a statement to the protesters that said the students were in violation of the Henderson Act, which prohibits illegal occupation of public buildings. An injunction was then issued ordering the protesters to leave, but it was not enforced.

The take-over ended Thursday afternoon, May 3, when Marshak agreed to set up a meeting with all the CUNY presidents and representatives of the Third World CUNY Coalition, and to conduct an investigation of SEEK and review the cases of 27 students recently dropped from that program. He also agreed to extend the Pilot Program and renew negotiations over the demand for more money for work-study students.

Meetings on campus are continuing as students map plans for more anti-cutback actions in the summer and fall.

Library employees stage 'dim-out'

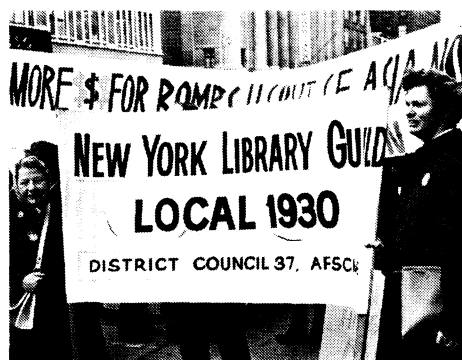
By MIRTA VIDAL

NEW YORK—In order to dramatize the effect of Nixon's decision to eliminate federal library subsidies, libraries across the country dimmed or turned out their lights in protest on May 8.

The \$148.7-million cut from library funds, which are due to expire in June of this year, will affect school and academic libraries, as well as public libraries. Some libraries may even have to be closed down.

But most hard hit by the cuts will be special projects being conducted in the Black and Puerto Rican communities.

In New York, for example, the cuts will eliminate a special program in the predominantly Puerto Rican South Bronx. That program includes refer-



Militant/John Lauritsen

New York library workers protest federal cutbacks and inflation, May 5.

ence materials in Spanish and books on Puerto Rican history, as well as films, lectures, dramatic productions, and other materials geared to Puerto Rican youth. The cuts will also affect a special program in North Manhattan, oriented to the Black community, and one in Staten Island.

"It's all poor people who are getting it in the neck," said Lillian Lopez, Coordinator of Special Services for the New York Public Library, in a telephone interview with *The Militant*. These programs, she said, are intended to make the library more relevant to the community. "And we get calls from all over saying that these services are needed. We also work with Chicanos interested in exchanging information."

"The cuts," said Lopez, "mean a loss of a chance for self-respect and dignity mainly for Black and Spanish-speaking youth." But, she explained, the cuts also affect the overall budget of libraries, some of which have already had to cut library hours, services, and materials. "When books are lost," said the chief librarian at the Hunts Point branch of the New York Public Library in the Bronx, "we can't afford to replace them."

The May 8 nationwide protest was called by the Chicago branch of the American Library Association. In Hawaii, library officials who had planned to participate in the protest were barred from doing so by government officials.

According to Lopez, most of the 82 branches of the New York Public Library turned out their lights at noon in solidarity with the 15 Bronx chapters, which are most affected by the cuts.

She said several students were studying at the Hunts Point library when the lights went out, "but when I explained why, they said that we *should* be doing this, and more."

Black steel workers win suit

By BAXTER SMITH

In December 1970, the civil rights division of the Justice Department and several lawyers supported by the NAACP Legal Defense Fund filed suit in a federal district court against U.S. Steel and the United Steelworkers of America. They charged the defendants with maintaining racially discriminatory seniority systems at U.S. Steel's Fairfield Works plant in Birmingham, Ala.

On May 2, Federal District Court Judge Sam Pointer Jr. ruled that U.S. Steel must act to abolish this discriminatory practice.

This ruling follows the Jan. 15 Labor Department order against similar practices at Bethlehem Steel's Sparrows Point, Md., plant. Both rulings will benefit Blacks seeking to improve their job classifications within these steel plants. Previously, 10 separate seniority systems existed at the Fairfield Works plant.

At both of these plants, Blacks have been assigned to the dirtiest, lowest-paying jobs. At the Birmingham plant, Blacks, even with comparable seniority to whites, are paid about \$1,750 a year less.

According to the May 3 *New York Times*, Blacks "who transferred to the white promotion lines lost their seniority and were therefore subject to being 'bumped' in the event of layoffs or rollbacks and sometimes lost a higher wage as the result of the transfer."

Pointer's ruling, affecting the more than 3,000 Blacks out of the 12,000 workers at the plant, seeks to establish one seniority system. In addition, according to the May 6 *Times*, he "decreed that the Fairfield works must hire one black apprentice for every white until at least 25 per cent of all journeyman positions are filled by blacks, one black clerk or technician until 20 per cent are non-white and one black supervisor for every two whites until 20 per cent of plant management positions are held by blacks."

The Birmingham decision is an advance over the Sparrows Point ruling. Pointer's decision acknowledges the need for preferential hiring and promotion for Blacks. However, a simple one-for-one hiring of Blacks to whites will not achieve the percentage levels he cites in the ruling.

The ruling also says nothing about back pay to those Blacks who have been locked into this discriminatory system up until now. This is a major issue with Black workers affected by the Sparrows Point decision.

The ruling does not go into effect until Aug. 1. Until then, an "intense educational program" is to be conducted at the Birmingham plant. The Sparrows Point ruling brought a thunder of reaction from some racist white steelworkers, as well as from some local union officials.

Apparently Pointer hopes the "educational program" will permit peaceful acceptance of his ruling. The program is to be supervised by representatives of the union, the company, and the Black workers.

Raza Unida Party wins seats in Texas elections

By NELSON BLACKSTOCK

SAN ANTONIO, April 20—La Raza Unida Party candidates won a whole series of elections for city council and school board in small towns in south and west Texas on April 7.

In Crystal City, where the first Raza Unida candidates won office in 1970, the independent Chicano party further consolidated its hold on city government. With a very high turnout at the polls of 75 to 80 percent of registered voters, Raza Unida retained total control of the city council and increased its weight on the seven-member school board from five to six.

The following breakdown on other Raza Unida showings was reported to *The Militant* by José Angel Gutiérrez, a founder of the Texas party.

Raza Unida won the majority on the school board and city council in Edcouch-Elsa, two seats on the city council in Kyle, one city council seat in Lockhart, one school board seat in Hebbronville, one city council seat in Robstown, and two city council seats in Beeville. In Carrizo Springs the party won back one seat on the city council, which it had lost in 1971, and won back control of the city council and the mayor's seat in Asherton, which it had also lost in 1971.

The party for the first time won control of the Marathon city council, retained control of the city council in Anthony, which is near El Paso, and increased its seats on the school board from two to five. In La Joya the party picked up three seats on the school board.

In San Marcos, two candidates backed by Raza Unida were elected to the school board. In Eagle Pass, Raza Unida backed a successful incumbent who was running as an independent, Frank Chisum, an Indian-Mexican.

While Raza Unida lost control of the San Juan city council, for the first time the party won control of the San Juan-Alamo school board.

In a number of areas there was evidence of fraudulent election procedures as Democrats and Republicans showed that they were willing to go outside the law to retain their power.

Raza Unida ran no candidates for office in the larger cities in Texas, many of which have large numbers of Chicanos. According to Gutiérrez, one reason for staying out of these races was a lack of money.

"Another consideration," he said, "was that we saw many of the big cities embroiled in their own machine fights, such as San Antonio, where the machines were splitting each other apart. We did not want to detract from that three-ring circus. With [Chicano

Democrat] Roy Barrera running we did not want to be on the ballot and be baited by having the accusation that there was one Mexican running against the other."

The orientation of not running candidates in the larger cities was not unanimously supported by Raza Unida leaders and activists. For example, Joe Castillo, vice-chairman of the Bexar County (San Antonio) Raza Unida Party, told *The Militant* that while he abided by the majority decision once it had been made (sometime after the November elections), he had submitted a position paper calling for participation in the city elections.

Castillo said he "felt that it would be very hard to expose the machine politics without offering an alternative. It seemed kind of awkward to stop somebody in the street and say, 'I'm not running a candidate for anything but I don't want you to vote for the one who is running.'"

Alberto Peña III, who made a big impact in San Antonio last fall with his race for state assembly, also had favored entering candidates in the San Antonio elections this spring. Peña told *The Militant* that running in the elections would have been the most effective way for Raza Unida to maintain the momentum established in 1972 (the party's candidate for governor polled more than 200,000 votes—some 6 percent of the total) and would allow the party to use the elections as a forum.

Castillo thinks that Raza Unida's absence from the San Antonio elections may have contributed to the decision by some who backed Raza Unida in the past to endorse Democrats this year. "As long as we don't have a candidate, there is nobody to be faithful to," he said.

While Gutiérrez holds that the tactic of not running in the city elections proved to be successful, he admits that the party's absence in these elections probably led some Raza Unida supporters to back Democrats. "But that still does not discount the fact that these people are very much in error in supporting either one of these animals," he said in reference to Barrera and his opponent Charles Becker.

Gutiérrez made it clear that La Raza Unida Party was keeping busy in the wake of the elections. In addition to a campaign to combat legislation that would more thoroughly restrict access to the ballot on the part of small parties, Raza Unida is organizing a demonstration at the state capitol to protest the inaction of the Democrats in the state legislature on financing of public education.



Militant/Tom Vernier

San Antonio Raza Unida Party leader Alberto Peña III speaking on 'Perspectives for Chicano Liberation' at World Politics in 1973 conference in Houston sponsored by Young Socialist Alliance. Seated are Kris Vasquez (left), Socialist Workers Party candidate for school board in Houston, and Maria Jimenez of the University of Houston MAYO (Mexican American Youth Organization).

Campaigning for Socialism

YOUNG SOCIALISTS FOR OLIVER HOLD SUCCESSFUL CONFERENCE: Nearly 300 people attended a socialist educational weekend in New York May 4-6, sponsored by the Young Socialists for Oliver and the Young Socialist Alliance.

Highlighting the weekend was a campaign rally the evening of May 5. The keynote speakers were Norman Oliver, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York, and Peter Camejo, a leader of the SWP, who gave an eyewitness account of the recent elections in Argentina.

More than \$2,000 was donated at the rally for the printing of campaign literature, including special material on inflation for mass distribution.

In the course of the conference, participants attended workshops on African liberation, Zionism and anti-Semitism, and Puerto Rican liberation. SWP candidate for controller, Dick Roberts, gave a talk on "National Liberation, Socialism, and Vietnam."



Militant/Mark Satinoff

New York socialist conference session addressed by Dick Roberts, SWP candidate for controller.

The conference closed with a speech by Olga Rodriguez, a national leader of the YSA, on "International Revolution and American Youth." Eleven people decided to join the YSA.

CHICANA ENTERS HOUSTON SCHOOL BOARD RACE: Kris Vasquez, 23, has announced her campaign on the SWP ticket for Houston school board. Vasquez was a founding member of the Houston Mexican-American Youth Organization (MAYO); managing editor of *Papel Chicano*, a local Chicano newspaper; and an organizer of the July 1970 Chicano Moratorium in Houston against the war in Vietnam.

In 1971, Vasquez helped build the first national conference of Chicanas, which took place in Houston. Formerly the director of a preschool in the barrio, Vasquez is working toward a BS in education at Texas Southern University.

In a statement released April 26, Vasquez said: "The Houston Independent School District is one of the most backward and racist in the country. The recently released study on Chicano and anglo students made by the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights documents the fact that Chicano students are neglected throughout the educational system. There is virtually no bilingual education available to the city's Spanish-speaking students."

"Every aspect of education of Black and Chicano children, from hiring and firing of teachers to the curriculum, from discipline to the school budget, should be controlled by the Black and Chicano communities. . . .

"Money from Nixon's defense budget

should instead be used to immediately build enough schools and hire more teachers in Houston and throughout the country. . . . Beginning teachers in Houston now earn \$7,100 a year, which doesn't go too far with today's prices. I am in favor of the Houston Teachers Association's requested \$1,-100 across-the-board raise.

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGNS ON LONG ISLAND: "Both the Democrats and Republicans represent the interests of the supermarket chains that are robbing us, the profiteers who prefer to close clinics instead of expand services, the big businessmen who backhandedly continue the war in Southeast Asia," said Frank Manning, SWP candidate for Nassau County executive on Long Island.

Manning announced his campaign May 4, saying he would challenge his Democratic and Republican opponents to debate "the real issues on the minds of the working people of Nassau County: high prices, curtailment of public services, and the blatant continuation of bombing in Southeast Asia."

16-YEAR-OLD CHALLENGES SEATTLE AGE REQUIREMENT: Eric Huffman, 16, is continuing his fight for the right to run for public office, even though he is "too young."

Huffman, who is a candidate for city council on the SWP ticket, held a news conference April 26, to which the high school press was especially invited. He announced that he had written the city council, requesting agenda time to explain the discriminatory nature of laws that require candidates to be registered voters. City Council President Lien Tuai wrote back that while he was not opposed to young candidates, he refused to sponsor legislation that would allow candidates under 18 to get on the ballot.

Other speakers at the news conference were Steve Bloom from the Students Rights and Service Center, and Barry Fatland of the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL).

As part of his campaign, Huffman has been touring Seattle high schools, where his candidacy has met a good response.

DIXON SPEAKS OUT AGAINST DETROIT 'STRESS' TERROR: "Homeowners seek disbanding of STRESS" said the headline in the *Detroit News*, following common council hearings April 30 on Mayor Roman Gribbs's proposed budget. The news article went on to quote Maceo Dixon as the "SWP candidate for mayor who said Gribbs' budget will mean more police repression of Black people, a cutback in sanitation workers and more rats."

Dixon, 23, filed as a mayoral candidate on May 4. A recent successful court challenge of age restrictions for candidates apparently prevented rejection of his application, although the official age requirement for Detroit mayoral candidates is 30. The assistant city clerk who accepted Dixon's papers noted that the state "really has no compelling interest in holding these age requirements. As a matter of fact, when Michigan was just part of the Northwest Territory, the first governor was a 19-year-old general in the revolutionary army."

Dixon, an activist in the Coalition to Abolish STRESS, is now an official candidate, pending an appeal by the city of the age requirement ruling.

—CINDY JAQUITH

WHY NEW AMERICAN MOVEMENT PREFERRED BERKELEY DEMS TO SOCIALIST CANDIDATES

By HARRY RING

"The New American Movement—A Way to Overcome the Mistakes of the Past."

That was the title of a June 1971 manifesto calling for the formation of the New American Movement. But thus far NAM seems to be concentrating more on repeating the mistakes of the past.

A case in point was NAM's support to the April Coalition slate in the recent Berkeley city council race.

In that election, a slate of moderate Democrats contested against the April Coalition slate of liberal Democrats. The moderate Democrats won three of the four vacant seats on the council and the April Coalition elected only one of its nominees.

This was the culmination of a seven-year experience in Berkeley that confirms in every respect what a ruinous thing it is when radicals try to advance their aims by working in the Democratic Party.

The University of California Berkeley campus was a center of the political radicalization that developed in the early 1960s. The Berkeley Vietnam Day Committee, formed in 1965, played a substantial role in initiating the mass movement against the Vietnam war both nationally and internationally.

In 1966, however, a process of political derailment was begun in Berkeley. A group led by *Ramparts* editor Robert Scheer split the Vietnam Day Committee to form the Community for New Politics. The function of the CNP was to organize support for Scheer in his bid for the Democratic congressional nomination.

While the CNP failed to win Scheer the nomination, it did succeed in enrolling many campus activists in the Democratic Party.

The CNP evolved into the April Coalition, which reached its highpoint in 1971 when it elected three people to the Berkeley city council. This was supposed to prove that radicals could make gains by "working within the system."

But things have not gone well for the Coalition. D'Army Bailey and Ira Simmons, two of the three elected by the group in 1971, began to operate totally independent of the Coalition almost as soon as they took office.

The third, Ilona Hancock, while continuing as a leader of the April Coalition, has increasingly made clear her real commitment—to the liberal Democrats. They, and she, see the radicals within the April Coalition merely as useful vote-getters in a community where there is widespread left-wing sentiment.

As the recently held elections got under way, the Republicans and moderate Democrats decided to borrow from the Coalition bag of tricks. They organized a joint Civic Unity slate and nominated four moderate Democrats—The Berkeley Four—for the council.

Faced with this united opposition, the liberal Democrats who control the April Coalition decided to shift to the right. They assumed—quite correctly—that the radicals in the Coalition might kick and holler a bit but would go along.

The radicals were permitted to conduct an April Coalition platform convention that approved an anticapitalist statement. But when it came time to select candidates, the Democratic machine took over.

Three Democrats—Ying Lee Kelley,

Margot Dashiell, and Peter Birdsall—were named.

The radicals were given the fourth nominee—Lenny Goldberg, a self-described "socialist," who, curiously, had been a campaigner for McGovern.

The shafting of the radicals within the April Coalition was described in some detail in a sorrowful article published in the April issue of the NAM publication, *New American Movement*.

Entitled "Socialism? In Berkeley?" the article describes how the radicals

were 'liberal Democrats' and therefore acceptable."

At the April Coalition nominating convention it had been agreed by all the participants that endorsements would be accepted only for the full slate. But Miller's nomination of the three alone was accepted.

"The Miller endorsement, and the response to it," Judis reports, "brought a final meeting of the white leftists. For many the question was whether to run a separate campaign as so-

"The development of a socialist movement can't be postponed indefinitely," NAM sternly warns.

"The promise of a radical electoral coalition lies in its ability to combine a struggle for reforms with an explicitly anticapitalist struggle," the brochure further explains, "and in its ability to resist incorporation into the Democratic Party, the traditional graveyard of radical movements in the United States."

Conclusion? "We should vote for the



Mass antiwar protests like this one made Berkeley a center of the political radicalization. April Coalition is the inheritor of previous efforts aimed at convincing students to work 'within the system.'

wrote the platform, but this victory "had an unreal quality."

"The left," author John Judis explained, "proposed that Coalition members see their special interests within a long-term commitment to creating working-class unity and a nationwide socialist movement. . . . Against this the Hancock people argued that the Coalition should be 'issue-oriented' and not involved in 'ideology' or 'rhetoric.' . . . Talking socialism would only lose the election."

In short, the radical platform formally adopted by the Coalition was so much "rhetoric," which the leaders intended to—and did—ignore during the campaign.

Similarly, a nominating convention—for which the Democrats turned out in force—rammed its slate down the throats of the radicals in the Coalition. The radicals were grouped principally around NAM and BAM (Berkeley Action Movement).

"The final slate left much to be desired," reports Judis. "Birdsall and Kelley were both Democratic Party workers. Neither could be expected to help develop a socialist movement in Berkeley. Dashiell was deemed the least radical of the Blacks and Goldberg was the least socialist of the white left."

After the ticket was selected, the NAM article continued, "BAM and NAM had little effect on the rightward drift of the coalition."

In fact it had little effect even on its own representative on the slate, Lenny Goldberg.

From the outset, a major preoccupation of the Coalition leadership was to win endorsements from leading Democrats. One Democrat, State Assemblyman John Miller, endorsed all the Coalition candidates except Goldberg. He explained, according to the NAM article, "that Goldberg was a 'radical ideologue' while the others

socialists or withdraw. . . . But Goldberg disagreed. He wanted to win. To further isolate himself by running a socialist campaign, he argued, would mean defeat for himself and would sacrifice his effectiveness as a councilman."

Declaring the Democratic Party a "graveyard for radical movements," the article then asserted, "For Berkeley socialists the only viable alternative will be a long-term socialist coalition."

Therefore, the article states, "Berkeley NAM decided not to be active in the campaign." (Emphasis added.)

This is a somewhat murky formulation. We don't know precisely how active NAM was in the campaign, but the fact is that it did continue to support and ask people to vote for the April Coalition's liberal Democratic slate.

A NAM brochure being distributed just prior to the elections was entitled "The Berkeley City Elections—Socialism in One City?"

Like the previously cited article, it offers some sober truths about the fate of radicals who give political support to the Democratic Party.

The brochure explains: "One role of the Democratic Party is to absorb radical movements within a party committed to preserving capitalist economic and political institutions." (The reference, however, is not to the April Coalition but to the Berkeley Four slate.)

But, as "socialist" critics, the NAM brochure hastens to add: "So far [!] the Coalition and its candidates have not posed a radical alternative to the Berkeley Four. The candidates have deemphasized or ignored the anticapitalist positions stated in the Coalition platform, and have moved toward the perspective of individuals and groups . . . who are aligned with the Democratic Party."

Coalition candidates because of the reforms which they fight for. But we should criticize the general political direction of the Coalition."

The NAM position on the Berkeley elections is as light-minded as it is lighthearted.

Recognize you're inviting people into a graveyard. Advise that it's in order to "criticize" the gravedigger. But, what the hell; throw him a vote.

NAM's hypocritical ambivalence toward the April Coalition was particularly odious in that there was an authentic socialist alternative in the Berkeley election.

The slate of the Socialist Workers Party offered a serious socialist critique of the April Coalition. It presented a series of programmatic proposals that related to the needs of the Berkeley community and, at the same time, promoted socialist consciousness. In short, it offered the kind of anticapitalist choice that NAM freely concedes is necessary.

Confronted with a socialist ticket and two Democratic Party slates, NAM chose one of the Democratic slates.

It didn't even have the alibi that it was the only game in town.



1973 April Coalition slate for Berkeley city council.

Conflicts of Cuban revolution

Memories of Underdevelopment. Directed by Tomas Gutierrez Alea. Produced by Instituto Cubano del Arte e Industria Cinematograficos. 1968. Distributed in the U.S. by Tricontinental Film Center. English subtitles.

Tomas Gutierrez Alea is one of Cuba's finest film directors. He directed the first feature film on the Cuban revolution in 1960, called *Stories of the Revolution*. His best-known films include *Death of a Bureaucrat* and *Twelve Chairs*. His latest film, *Memories of Underdevelopment*, won the International Federation of Film Critics Award and the International Federation of Film Societies Award.

This film is about the loneliness and isolation of Sergio, a man unable to identify with the Cuban revolution in the early 1960s. Unprepared for the moment when his country made the historic break from the past, he was not able to assume the risks and difficulties a revolution implies.

Sergio is incapable of choosing

Film

sides. A young woman with whom he is having an affair asks him, "Are you a revolutionary?" Sergio asks in return, "What do you think?"

"I think you're neither a revolutionary nor a counterrevolutionary," she replies. "Then what am I?" asks Sergio. The young woman states very simply, "You are nothing."

The film is also about underdevelopment. It's a recognition that the dreams of many to transform Cuba overnight into an isle of paradise had to face the stark reality of Cuba being a backward, poor, and small country. Sergio wonders, "How do you get rid of underdevelopment? It touches everything, everything."

But as filmmaker Alea comments in his working notes for the picture, "underdevelopment is not everything." There is also "the other side (the positive, vital one) of our reality: the revolution. Both constitute the basic premises of our personality, our future, and our actions."

Besides presenting some of the contradictions that arise in a revolutionary country with the heritage of colonial exploitation, the film also shows inspiring scenes of postrevolution Cuba: revolutionary posters and billboards; the mass mobilization in response to the 1962 missile crisis; scenes of solidarity with the Vietnamese revolution; and Fidel Castro speaking.

To obtain this and other Cuban films, contact Tricontinental Film Center at 244 W. 27 St., New York, N.Y. 10001.

—LINDA JENNESS



Militant/Mark Satinoff

Harrisburg 7

The Harrisburg 7 and the New Catholic Left by William O'Rourke. Thomas Y. Crowell Company. New York, 1972. 264 pp. \$6.95.

It is perhaps inevitable, given the history encapsulated in political trials of recent years, that one's involvement with them reaches heights previously reserved for the best theater or film. Simply, the dramatic tension of what becomes "us" (Angela Davis, Daniel Berrigan, or Daniel Ellsberg) is too great to take in as easily as morning coffee. We root passionately; we hate the slick-haired state's men; we love the eloquent attorneys for the defense.

Dramatically, the 1972 trial of the Harrisburg 7—for conspiracy to kidnap Henry Kissinger and blow up heating tunnels in Washington—resembled black comedy, low, mean, and absurd. It was spun not quite of whole cloth from the rotting brain of J. Edgar Hoover in search of money for the FBI. But the staid Harrisburg jury convicted Father Philip Berrigan and Sister Elizabeth McAlister only of smuggling letters in and out of a federal prison in Pennsylvania.

William O'Rourke's journalistic account of the trial of the seven is a somewhat cynical, half-amused, half-appalled account of the

Books

trial and its setting. O'Rourke has a good sense of drama, and of the absurd.

The book concentrates on describing the month-long jury selection, seen by defense attorneys as a crucial part of the trial; the examination and cross-examination of the FBI's informant Boyd F. Douglas Jr.; and on the various meetings and protests organized by the Harrisburg 7 Defense Committee.

Douglas is finely drawn in O'Rourke's book as a repulsive, fascinating character, stupid, vain, money-grubbing. He was out to rook the antiwar movement, the FBI, anyone, it seems, of anything. He passed himself off to Berrigan and others as a demolitions expert. The outcome of the trial rested ultimately on whether the government could persuade the jury that its witness was a credible and sincere informant. The last-minute strategy of the defense was to present no defense witnesses whatsoever, relying on its cross-examination of Douglas to destroy his testimony and character in the eyes of the jury.

Leonard Boudin, the final defense attorney to cross-examine Douglas, read to the jury Douglas's 1967 parole report: "The defendant has thus far made poor social adjustment. . . . He has maintained himself with bad checks and certainly has many attributes of a confidence man."

The jury, by its verdict, concurred.

O'Rourke is not altogether comfortable around the Harrisburg 7 Defense Committee people. He does not describe the defendants nearly as well as he does Boyd, or the defense attorneys. In particular, it is irking to the sympathetic reader to realize how concerned O'Rourke is with Fania Jordan's bralessness and Elizabeth McAlister's girdle.

O'Rourke has a good feeling, however, for dramatic highlights; through the book one can "enjoy" the trial over again, the bold defense, and the final satisfying defeat of that miserable, self-serving dragon, J. Edgar Hoover.

—STACEY JOSLIN

Marx on Civil War

Karl Marx on America and the Civil War. Edited, with an introduction, by Saul K. Padover. McGraw-Hill Book Company. New York, 1972. 298 pp. Cloth \$10, paper \$3.50.

In this book, the second volume in McGraw-Hill's Karl Marx Library series, Saul Padover has collected letters and articles by Marx dealing with the United States.

Although the material ranges from 1846 through 1881, most of the book consists of articles written for Horace Greeley's *New York Daily Tribune* and the Vienna *Die Presse* during the first part of the Civil War, in 1861 and 1862.

Marx recognized the Civil War as a fundamental social revolution, a struggle between two classes over which would rule the U.S. However timid and conservative the leaders of the Northern bourgeoisie appeared, he was completely confident that the

Books

war's outcome would be the destruction of the slave system.

Prior to the Civil War, many American socialists and trade unionists failed to appreciate the importance of the struggle against slavery. Their exclusive concern with "wage slavery" in the North led them, in many cases, into the slaveowner-controlled Democratic Party.

Marx fought this tendency in the years before and during the Civil War, because he knew that the elimination of slavery was necessary before there could be even a chance for successful struggles by American workers.

Padover's introduction is generally useful. But his liberal bias leads him to exaggerate a chance speculation



Karl Marx

Marx once made about the possibility of the American workers taking power through electoral means. This quote, together with some other out-of-context references, could leave the reader with the false impression that Marx had abandoned his revolutionary perspective.

The articles in this book demonstrate Marx's extraordinary ability to apply his analytic method to current events for a popular audience. They also provide a graphic description of the unfolding of the Second American Revolution that any student of U.S. history will find a welcome contrast to the drivel served up in today's textbooks.

—ROBERT HIMMEL

Dick Gregory says, 'Buy The Militant'

Detroit sets sales record of 956

By NANCY COLE

MAY 9—More Detroiters were introduced to *The Militant* last week than in any week in recent years, with record-breaking sales of 956 copies. Members of the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party there launched a week-long campaign to build participation in the May 5 price protest by leafletting and circulating *The Militant*—and to break their previous sales record of 920.

The week's sales efforts included five or six sales teams dispatched from the forum hall daily, early Saturday morning teams to the Black community, and Sunday teams to campus dormitories. Throughout the week, 616 *Militants* were sold at supermarkets and shopping areas in the Black community, and a number of those were to supermarket employees. SWP sales director Sandy Knoll reports that people who knew *The Militant* from previous sales or who responded favorably to its coverage of the anti-STRESS campaign and price protests would greet or leave salespeople with "See you at the May 5 demonstration."

"And," Knoll continued, "we saw many of them there!"

High salespeople for the week were Kirk Fowler, who sold 90, and Maceo Dixon, 69. However, 42 supporters participated in the campaign, half of them selling every day and the others selling two or three times during the week.

As a result of last week's sales activities, *Militant* salespeople in Detroit are more confident than ever, according to Knoll, and excited about selling their quota for the duration of the sales campaign. For other areas, Knoll suggests similar local campaigns: "If a political event is happening or an action is scheduled, go on a local sales campaign and get in the habit of ordering a huge bundle periodically."

The Militant's campaign to reach 7,000 street sales has only three weeks to go. In the spirit of winding up the campaign with enthusiasm and record sales, Ben Harris from Nashville, who last week raised his quota to 40 and made that, entered the following challenge this week: "I would like to challenge any other at-large member of the Young Socialist Alliance to a one-to-one *Militant* selling match."

To reach our national goal, all areas will now have to concentrate their efforts on making or exceeding their quotas. Lower Manhattan has set the pace by pledging to raise their goal again, this time in two stages—from 400 to 450 for one week and then to 500 for the final weeks. Cleveland supporters also raised their goal from 250 to 300.

After the record sales reported last week, the

Oakland/Berkeley area again surpassed its quota, selling 513. Of that total, 51 were sold at plant gates, most of those at early morning sales.

At a recent meeting in San Diego, the speaker made a comment that is one indication that *The Militant* is really getting around. The speaker was Dick Gregory, and at the conclusion of his talk he pointed out two papers being sold there—*Muhammad Speaks* and *The Militant*—and recommended that people buy both. "In fact," he added, "you should buy subscriptions."

AREA	SOLD LAST WEEK	WEEKLY GOAL	SOLD PREVIOUS WEEK	%
Detroit	956	350	273	(160)
Atlanta	356	300	119	(339)
San Diego	280	250	112	(265)
Oakland/Berkeley	513	500	103	(618)
Upper West Side	405	400	101	(353)
Cleveland	250	250	100	(315)
Elyria	10	10	100	(10)
Nashville	40	40	100	(25)
Providence	20	20	100	(*)
Lower Manhattan	377	400	94	(410)
Houston	450	500	90	(350)
Seattle	220	250	88	(225)
Washington, D.C.	212	250	85	(246)
Chicago	421	500	84	(348)
Los Angeles	368	450	82	(405)
Austin	150	200	75	(147)
Mt. Pleasant	15	20	75	(*)
Portsmouth	30	40	75	(*)
Boston	359	500	72	(333)
Philadelphia	186	275	68	(198)
Portland	110	200	55	(165)
Twin Cities	180	350	51	(284)
San Francisco	240	500	48	(230)
Tallahassee	23	50	46	(*)
College Park	22	50	44	(25)
Brooklyn	139	325	43	(239)
Denver	75	225	33	(135)
TOTAL SOLD LAST WEEK 6,407				
GOAL 7,000				
(*no report)				

I WANT TO TAKE A SALES QUOTA OF _____

Please send me a weekly bundle of (12.5 cents/copy, payable after you sell them): 5 10 25 Other _____

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____
14 Charles Lane, New York, N. Y. 10014

YSA chapter set up in San Jose

By DELFINE WELCH

A new chapter of the Young Socialist Alliance has been set up in San Jose, Calif. That makes seven new chapters of the YSA formed through the work of the 12 Young Socialist Teams. To date, the teams have signed up 74 new members of the YSA.

Ten of the teams have now completed their eight-week campus tours. The Twin Cities and Chicago teams each have one week left to go.

All the teams found that the May issue of the *Young Socialist*, featuring African Liberation Day on the cover, is selling well, especially to Black students. The Black Affairs Council at Illinois State University in Normal asked the Chicago team if they could order a bundle of 100 YSs to use in building support for African Liberation Day there.

The Chicago team not only found the YS going fast, but also reported that the *International Socialist Review* was well received among women students at ISU. At a debate over the Equal Rights Amendment between Betty Friedan, founder of the National Organization for Women, and Phyllis Schlafly of STOP ERA, the team sold 47 of the March and April issues of the *ISR*, which featured articles on abortion and the ERA.

In their last week on the road the Los Angeles-San Diego team signed up three students at San Bernardino Valley College as YSA members. They also held a meeting of 20 in the MECHA headquarters there on "Strategy for Revolution in the U. S."

Although most of the teams have returned from

their eight weeks on the road, contributions are still needed to pay such expenses as telephone bills and the printing costs of the literature the teams distributed. Last week a supporter from Alabama sent in \$500 to bring the total received by the Young Socialist Teams Fund to \$7,535. Please send in your contribution today.

TEAM	MILITANT		YOUNG SOCIALIST	
	SOLD LAST WEEK	GOAL	SOLD LAST WEEK	GOAL
Denver	202	200	228	200
Twin Cities	191	150	215	150
Cleveland-Detroit	204	200	200	200
New York	151	150	151	150
Atlanta	132	150	144	200
Boston	145	200	176	200
Chicago	202	200	104	200
Seattle-Portland	96	150	121	150
TOTAL	1,323	1,450	1,339	1,450

\$0 \$7,535 \$8,000

() I can contribute \$ _____ to the \$8,000 YS Teams Fund.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____
YS Teams Fund, Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, N. Y. 10003.

Rennie and the 15-yr-old Guru

"I'm still in the movement," Rennie Davis declared at a recent appearance here in New York. "Now I'm in the movement that's going to win."

Davis's new "movement" is a highly organized campaign to recruit disillusioned radicals into the fold of "the one Perfect Master on earth at this time": the mustachioed (his followers claim he is 15 years old) Indian spiritual leader, Guru Maharaj Ji. Davis is currently working as the Guru's advance man on the campus circuit.

Despite his new calling, Davis is perhaps better known as a founding member of Students for a Democratic Society, a defendant in the Chicago Seven conspiracy case, and a principal organizer of the Mayday antiwar demonstrations in Washington, D. C., two years ago.

It all began, Davis says, on a plane trip to Paris on the eve of the Vietnam cease-fire negotiations. He was scheduled to meet with the North Vietnamese negotiators, but the meeting never took place. Instead, he accepted a free ticket to India from friends and went to look up the 15-year-old Guru.

Eight days later he emerged a convert, ready to go out and recruit his former associates and anyone else willing to listen. The pitch seems to

American Way of Life

be that if you've decided that sit-ins, demonstrations, or George McGovern weren't the answer, why not check out the Guru's perfect knowledge? What have you got to lose?

Davis now travels from coast to coast drumming up publicity for the Guru. So far, he seems to have had a rough time. Most of his friends, he told a reporter, "figure either I've lost my marbles or that I'm working for the CIA."

In Berkeley he was hooted off the stage. Hecklers in Washington, D. C., repeatedly drowned him out. And in New York, at a session this reporter attended, the audience of about 1,000 included 30 or 40 highly vocal Yuppies and Zippies. Armed with eggs, tomatoes, and cherry pies, they came to tell Rennie they weren't about to follow him on his latest trip.

Chants of "Out Now!" and "Free Rennie Davis!" punctuated each attempt he made to speak. A volley of eggs and tomatoes splashed against the Guru's life-size portrait and the red-velvet throne it sat on.

"You've got capitalist money in your pockets, Rennie," shouted one Yippie as he heaved a cherry pie.

"That's Marjoe, Rennie! That's Marjoe," shouted another during a 20-minute color film highlighting the Guru's career. "You've flipped out, haven't you?"

During a scene in the film in which an aged pilgrim greets the young master, someone yelled out in disbelief: "They're kissing his feet, Rennie. Even Nixon doesn't make us do that!"

Despite the interruptions, however, Davis did get a chance to outline part of his new philosophy.

"The whole world is a product of consciousness," he explained. "It's our ideas that generate a world where there's bombs. We must tune our bodies into the infinite field of consciousness."

"This will end the bombing of Cambodia and everything else we suffer," he promised. "It will replace capitalist society with a system of perfect peace. . . ."

"The only revolution is spiritual revolution," the former Mayday activist concluded. "Everything else is only bullets." —MICHAEL BAUMANN



The Guru, earlier in his career. Key tenet in faith is to 'give all your love, your lives, and your possessions to Guru Maharaj Ji.'

Calendar

BOSTON

THE WATERGATE SCANDAL: NIXON IS THE ONE. A panel discussion with John Businger, Democratic state representative; Joe Pilati, staff writer, *Boston Globe*; Jon Olmsted, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Cambridge school committee. Fri., May 18, 8 p.m. 655 Atlantic Ave. (opp. South Sta.). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (617) 482-8050.

CHICAGO

THE WAR AIN'T OVER! WHO CAN STOP IT? Forum sponsored by Veterans for Peace. Fri., May 18, 7:30 p.m. Walnut Room, Midland Hotel, 172 W. Adams. Donation: \$1. Speakers: Vets for Peace, Chicago Area Military Project.

LOS ANGELES

SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL WEEKEND. At UCLA, Social Welfare Bldg., Room 121. Fri., May 18, 8 p.m. Debate: Meaning of the Vietnam Peace Treaty, Fred Halstead and Robert Scheer. Sat., May 19, noon: Dick Roberts: Inflation Epidemic: World Crisis of Imperialism; 3 p.m.: Linda Jenness: Four More Years of Nixon: Why We Need Socialism; 8:30 p.m.: Party. Donation: \$1 per session; h.s. students 50c. For more information call (213) 463-1917 or (213) 463-1966.

NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

RICHARD M. NIXON—FROM "CHECKERS" TO WATERGATE. Speaker: Peter Seidman, staff writer for *The Militant*. Fri., May 18, 8 p.m. 706 Broadway (near 4th St.), Eighth Floor. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp: Lower Manhattan Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 982-6051.

PHILADELPHIA

PHILADELPHIA SOCIALIST FORUMS presents a weekly forum each Friday at 8 p.m. at the University of Pennsylvania's Houston Hall, 3417 Spruce St., Second Floor.

PORTLAND

THE MILITANT FORUM presents weekly forums on Friday evenings at 7:30 p.m. Some of the topics covered are: the struggles of women, Blacks, Chicanos, and Native Americans for liberation; the trade-union movement; and the struggles in other countries. 208 S.W. Stark, Room 501. Donation: \$1, h.s. students and unemployed 50c. For more information call (503) 226-2715.

SAN DIEGO

SOCIALIST PERSPECTIVES FOR '73—AN ACTIVISTS' CONFERENCE. Fri., May 18, 8 p.m.: Dollar Crisis: Rising Prices and Inflation. Speaker: Dick Roberts, associate editor of *International Socialist Review*. Sat., May 19, 1 p.m.: Vietnam and World Revolution. Speaker: Harry Ring, Southwest Bureau, *The Militant*; 3:30 p.m.: slide show: women's struggle for the right to abortion and to control their bodies; 8 p.m.: Four More Years of Nixon: Why We Need Socialism. Speaker: Linda Jenness, 1972 Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate. San Diego State University, Aztec Center. Donation: \$3, \$1 per session, half price for h.s. students. Sponsored by Young Socialist Alliance.

SAN FRANCISCO

WORLD IN REVOLT—A SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE. May 18-19. 1519 Mission. Fri., May 18, 8 p.m.: Dynamics of the African Revolution. Speaker: Tony Thomas, staff writer for *The Militant*; Sat., May 19, 10 a.m.: The Mideast Conflict: A Debate; 1 p.m.: The Future of the Women's Movement; 3 p.m.: Why America Needs Socialism. Followed by dinner and party. Donation for entire conference: \$3.50. For more information call (415) 864-9174 or (415) 642-1851.

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

THE SWP ON THE AIR. Listen to Theodore Edwards, spokesman for the Socialist Workers Party, on his weekly radio program, 2 p.m. every Saturday, KPFC-FM, 90.7.

...W'gate

Continued from page 4

the "whole truth." In other words, most people in this country think Nixon is a liar, as well as a crook. And 58 percent saw little difference with respect to corruption between the Nixon administration and others over the last 25 years! This is a sign of the fundamental change that has taken place in the way the masses of people look at the government.

Despite a presidential address and a drastic government shakeup, Nixon has not yet gotten the Watergate crisis under control. This is partly because the radicalization produced in the U. S. by the Vietnam war, by spiraling inflation and unemployment, and by racist and sexist oppression, fosters a deep suspicion of the policies of the government and the capitalist class.

Scandals like Watergate, coming in the midst of the radicalization, serve to convince more and more people that the gang of Republican and Democratic thieves and liars that governs this country is unfit to rule.

...gold

Continued from page 12

in South Africa, even reaching the halls of parliament. At least one demonstration of 3,000 in Johannesburg protested the students' treatment.

Superseding all of this has been a wave of militant strikes by Black workers pressing for wage hikes

above a starvation income.

Although the gold boom has brought profits to the owners and tax money to the treasury, the average Black miner has little to celebrate. The Chamber of Mines recently upped the wages of Black miners. Now they're paid \$10 a week instead of \$7.50. But this still falls far below the government's "poverty datum line" of \$100 a month for a family of five. (This "poverty datum line" is widely recognized as the minimum income level to avoid starvation.) On the other hand, some white miners with less experience than the Blacks they supervise are paid up to \$260 a week.

Close to 80 percent of the Black miners are imported on a contract basis from surrounding African countries, such as Mozambique and Botswana. This is due to the reluctance of South African Blacks to work in the mines for starvation wages, coupled with the general shortage of labor in South Africa.

The boom hasn't changed the conditions faced by the more than 400,000 Black miners. In the last 30 years, almost 20,000 miners died as a result of mine accidents. Ninety-three percent of them were Black.

On May 26 (African Liberation Day), Afro-Americans will be marching to protest the oppression of our brothers and sisters in South Africa and against U. S. support for the Pretoria government.

...N.Y.

Continued from page 15

this a democracy that this should go on?" she asked.

"This was not an election," echoed many of the witnesses, calling for a new "and honest" election.

Eva Chertov, Socialist Workers Party candidate for city council from the Lower East Side, testified that as a poll watcher for the community-control slate she saw many mothers with their children being sent from polling place to polling place by inspectors who told them they could not find their names on any lists. "The fraudulent way of handling elec-

tions is what discourages future voting, not lack of interest in what is happening in the schools," Chertov submitted for the record.

The hearings were sponsored by the Committee for Democratic Election Laws in cooperation with the New York Civil Liberties Union, Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund, National Conference of Black Lawyers, National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, and Community Action for Legal Services.

According to Judy Baumann, CoDEL national secretary, the testimony may be used as the basis for a lawsuit against the irregularities if a suit already in the courts does not result in the invalidation of the election results.

The large turnout at the hearings, which were organized in only four days, and the anger displayed there, indicates that the results of this election will resound in the Lower East Side for some time to come.

...Indian

Continued from page 24

lowed to choose their own form of government.

A petition circulated in early March, which gained the required number of signatures, called for a vote to revoke the tribal government system. This system was imposed on Indians all over the country in 1934. The petition would automatically remove tribal chief Richard Wilson and his council from office.

To date, this simple democratic procedure, which requires only the implementation of already existing regulations, has been blocked by Wilson and the U. S. government.

Genocide Against the Indians
by George Novack
\$.60

PATHFINDER PRESS, 410 West St., New York, N. Y. 10014.

Socialist Directory

ALABAMA: Tuscaloosa: YSA, P.O. Box 5462, University, Ala. 35486.

ARIZONA: Phoenix: c/o Steve Shliveck, P.O. Box 890, Tempe Ariz. 85281.

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley-Oakland: SWP and YSA, 3536 Telegraph Ave., Oakland, Calif. 94609. Tel: (415) 654-9728.

Chico: YSA, c/o Kathy Isabell, 266 E. Sacramento Ave., Chico, Calif. 95926.

Los Angeles: SWP and YSA, 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90029. Tel: SWP—(213) 463-1917, YSA—(213) 463-1966.

Riverside: YSA, c/o Univ. of Calif. at Riverside, 1134 Library South, Riverside, Calif. 92502.

Sacramento: YSA, c/o Darren Crown, 2321 "E" St., Sacramento, Calif. 95816.

San Diego: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 4635 El Cajon Blvd., San Diego, Calif. 92115. Tel: (714) 280-1292.

San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Militant Books, 1519 Mission St., San Francisco, Calif. 94103. Tel: (415) 864-9174.

San Jose: YSA, c/o Chico Aldape, 543 S. 9th, #5, San Jose, Calif. 95112. Tel: (408) 286-8492.

San Mateo: YSA, c/o Chris Stanley, 1712 Yorktown Rd., San Mateo, Calif. 97330.

Santa Barbara: YSA, c/o Carolyn Marsden, 413 Shasta Ln., Santa Barbara, Calif. 93101.

COLORADO: Boulder: YSA, c/o UMC Hostess Desk, U of Colorado, Boulder, Colo. 80302.

Denver: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 1203 California, Denver, Colo. 80204. Tel: (303) 623-2825. Bookstore open Mon.-Sat., 10:30 a.m. — 7 p.m.

CONNECTICUT: Hartford: YSA, P.O. Box 1184, Hartford, Conn. 06101. Tel: (203) 523-7582.

New Haven: YSA, P.O. Box 185, New Haven, Conn. 06501.

Storrs: YSA, U of Conn., P.O. Box 344, Storrs, Conn. 06268.

FLORIDA: Tallahassee: YSA, c/o Sarah Ryan, 1806 Lake Bradford Rd., Tallahassee, Fla. 32304.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: Militant Bookstore, 68 Peachtree St. N.E., Third Floor, Atlanta, Ga. 30303. SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 846, Atlanta, Ga. 30301. Tel: (404) 523-0610.

ILLINOIS: Carbondale: YSA, c/o Lawrence Roth/Mark Harris, 505 S. Graham, #341, Carbondale, Ill. 62901.

Chicago: SWP, YSA, and bookstore, 180 N. Wacker Dr., Room 310, Chicago, Ill. 60606. Tel: SWP—(312) 641-0147, YSA—(312) 641-0233.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

IOWA: Cedar Falls: YSA, c/o Mark Jacobsen, 2310 College St. Apt. B, Cedar Falls, Iowa 50613. Tel: (319) 277-2544.

KENTUCKY: Lexington: YSA, P.O. Box 952, University Station, Lexington, Ky. 40506.

LOUISIANA: Lafayette: YSA, c/o Cliff Schlicher, 216 Spring St., La-

ayette, La. 70501.

Lake Charles: YSA, c/o Cathy Harrison, P.O. Box 16, MSU, Lake Charles, La. 70601.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: YSA, c/o Dave McKim, 2103 Belair Rd., Baltimore, Md. 21213. Tel: (301) 732-8996.

College Park: YSA, University P.O. Box 73, U of Md., College Park, Md. 20742.

MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, R.S.O. Box 324, U of Mass., Amherst, Mass. 01002.

Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor, Boston, Mass. 02111. Tel: SWP—(617) 482-8050, YSA—(617) 482-8051; Issues and Activists Speaker's Bureau (IASB) and Regional Committee—(617) 482-8052; Pathfinder Books—(617) 338-8560.

MICHIGAN: Detroit: SWP, YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) TEI-6135.

East Lansing: YSA, Second Floor Offices, Union Bldg. Michigan State University, East Lansing, Mich. 48823.

Mt. Pleasant: YSA, P.O. Box 98, Warriner Hall, CMU, Mt. Pleasant, Mich. 48858.

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis-St. Paul: SWP, YSA, and Labor Bookstore, 1 University N.E. (at E. Hennepin) Second Floor, Mpls. 55413. Tel: (612) 332-7781.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: YSA, c/o Student Activities Office, U of Missouri at Kansas City, 5100 Rockhill Road, Kansas City, Mo. 64110.

St. Louis: YSA, P.O. Box 8037, St. Louis, Mo. 63156. Tel: (314) 371-1503.

NEW HAMPSHIRE: Portsmouth: YSA, P.O. Box 479, Durham, N.H. 03824.

NEW JERSEY: New Brunswick: YSA, c/o Ruben Montare, Livingston College, Room 313, New Brunswick, N.J. 10119. Tel: (201) 463-9766.

NEW MEXICO: Albuquerque: YSA, c/o Kathy Helmer, 9920 Leyendecker Rd. N.E., Albuquerque, N.M. 87112. Tel: (505) 296-6230.

NEW YORK: Albany: YSA, c/o Laura Grunberg, Box 2179, Mohican Hall, Indian Quad 1400, Washington Ave. SUNY, Albany, N.Y. 12203.

Binghamton: YSA, Box 1073, Harpur College, Binghamton, N.Y. 13901. Tel: (607) 798-4142.

Brooklyn: SWP and YSA, 136 Lawrence St. (at Willoughby), Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201. Tel: (212) 596-2849.

Long Island: YSA, P.O. Box 357, Roosevelt, L.I., N.Y. 11575. Tel: (516) FR9-0289.

New York City—City-wide SWP and YSA, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: (212) 982-8214.

Lower Manhattan: SWP, YSA, and Merit Bookstore, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: SWP, YSA—(212) 982-6051; Merit Books—(212) 982-5940.

Upper West Side: SWP and YSA, 2744 Broadway (106th St.), New York, N.Y. 10025. Tel: (212) 663-3000.

OHIO: Bowling Green: YSA, Box 27, U. Hall, Bowling Green State

University, Bowling Green, Ohio 43402.

Cincinnati: YSA, c/o C.R. Mitts, P.O. Box 32084, Cincinnati, Ohio 45232. Tel: (513) 242-6132.

Cleveland: SWP and YSA, 4420 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44103. Tel: SWP—(216) 391-5553, YSA—(216) 391-3278.

Columbus: YSA, c/o Daryl Drobnick, 1510 Georgesville Rd., Columbus, Ohio 43228.

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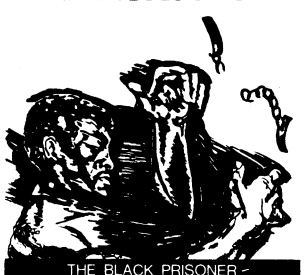
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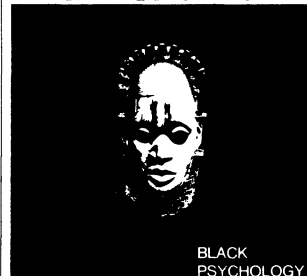
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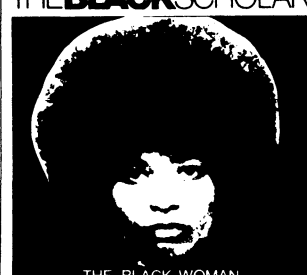
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THE MILITANT

COP WHO KILLED 10-YEAR-OLD INDICTED FOR MURDER N.Y. BLACKS PROTEST POLICE BRUTALITY

NEW YORK — "Momma, Momma, hide your child, the cops are shooting as if they're wild."

"When you rip us off, kill our children, and oppress us, do you still want to know *why* we call you *PIGS*?"

These were among the signs carried by angry Black demonstrators in South Jamaica, Queens, as protests continued over the murder of 10-year-old Clifford Glover by a New York cop. Some 1,000 Blacks marched on May 3 to the 103rd precinct police station following funeral services for Glover. Demonstrations, statements of protest by prominent Black figures and spontaneous outbursts on the part of Black youth followed the April 28 shooting of Glover by plainclothes cop Thomas Shea.

The protesters were demanding that Shea, who has a history of brutal attacks on unarmed youths, be convicted on the murder charges brought against him by the Queens district attorney's office. According to the New York *Daily News*, this is the first time one of New York's "finest" has been charged with murder "in the line of duty."

Glover was the second 10-year-old Black child to be killed by New York police in less than a year. In both cases the unarmed Blacks were shot by white cops claiming their victims had guns. In both cases the possession of such guns could not be proven. Glover was shot in the back and then, according to one eyewitness, kicked and cursed by Shea.

The funeral for Glover at Mount Zion Baptist Church was attended by some 1,500 people. In a moving eulogy, the Reverend Vaster Johnson asked, "Is there any difference from a rope 100 years ago in Alabama or a gun now in South Jamaica? I wonder if it was the price of being Black standing before a gun with a white finger on the trigger."

Percy Sutton, Manhattan borough president and a Black, complained that many of the public officials who



Demonstrators outside funeral for Clifford Glover

attend funerals for police who are killed were not present. He referred particularly to the absence of Democratic Mayor John Lindsay.

Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor Norman Oliver attended the funeral and participated in the demonstration that followed. Oliver told *The Militant* that "the widespread anger and protests coming out of the Black community show that our people are fed up with brutal racist assaults."

He scored Policemen's Benevolent Association President Robert McKiernan for demanding that the murder

charge be dropped in favor of simply suspending Shea pending an "investigation." McKiernan's statement, said Oliver, "that the indictment of Shea shows that New York 'slips still further toward anarchy' is ridiculous. The 'anarchy' in New York is the anarchy of cop-violence against the innocent and the defenseless."

Oliver denounced the latest effort to whitewash the police department—a panel set up supposedly to examine the records of New York's 30,000 cops. The stated goal of this panel is to ferret out those cops who, in the words of Police Commissioner Don-

ald Cawley, "chronically resort to force in their work."

Oliver pointed out that "no police department screening panel is going to end the police terror that exists in the Black and Puerto Rican communities. The cops are in our communities for the purpose of making sure that those who profit from our plight can continue to do so. The occupying armies of police in our communities by their very nature 'resort to force' or the threat of force and must be replaced with a force drawn from our communities and controlled by our communities."

Settlement announced at Wounded Knee

By SKIP BALL

MAY 9 — On May 7, after 70 days, a settlement was announced ending the historic occupation of Wounded Knee by Oglala Sioux and members of the American Indian Movement (AIM). The struggle for Indian rights that motivated the seizure, however, goes on.

When arms were finally laid down on Tuesday morning, May 8, 30 occupants of the village were arrested by federal agents.

The legal office handling their defense estimates that bail will exceed half a million dollars.

Russell Means and AIM security director Stan Holder are each being held

on \$125,000 bail. Bond for other key leaders, including traditional spiritual adviser Leonard Crow Dog, who was in Wounded Knee with government authorization at the time of his arrest, ranges between \$30,000 and \$70,000.

Pedro Bissonette, vice-president of the Oglala Sioux Civil Rights Organization (OSCRO), is being held without bail.

A constant stumbling block in negotiations throughout the occupation has been the government's refusal to deal with any issues but the terms of the Indians' surrender. Government spokesman Kent Frizzell told reporters that in the future, Washington would handle actions like Wounded Knee in the same way it now handles "bank robberies or hijackings."

Despite this federal arrogance, which brought on the Wounded Knee action in the first place, the new settlement does include a government agreement to audit the finances of Chief Richard Wilson's U.S.-backed tribal government. An investigation will also be

made into complaints of civil rights violations.

Terms of the new settlement are similar to those of an earlier agreement reached April 5, which the government then refused to implement. Talks are supposed to begin in two weeks between a team of White House advisers and traditional Sioux chiefs and headmen.

According to the Wounded Knee Legal Defense-Offense office, however, those OSCRO organizers and AIM leaders now in jail will only be permitted to participate in the talks if they have been released on bond.

Talks are slated to center around the 1868 treaty, which gave the Sioux all the land of the former Dakota Territory west of the Missouri River. Legal fights around unsettled issues are expected to continue as well.

One of the main unresolved issues, the key one behind the take-over from the beginning, is whether the people of Pine Ridge Reservation will be al-

Continued on page 22



Site of negotiations between Indians and U.S. government representatives.